





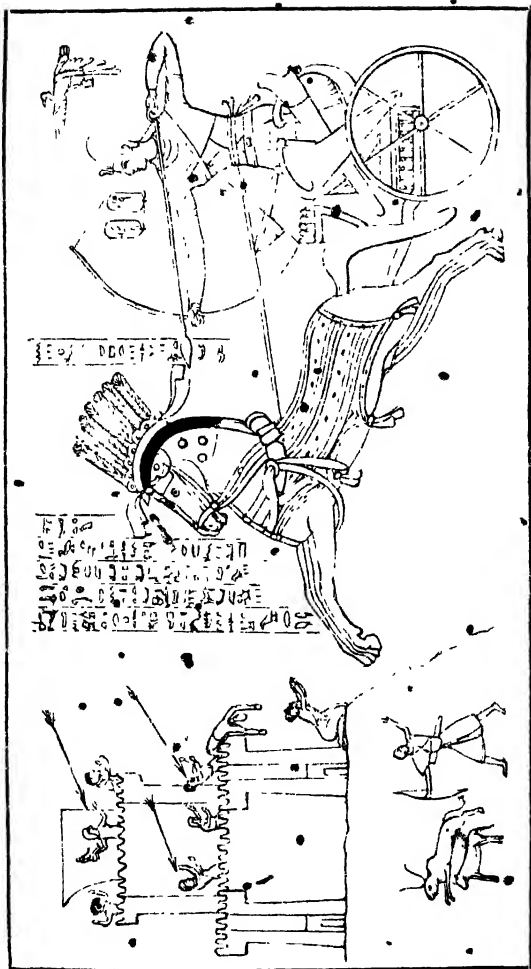


# Readings In Biography

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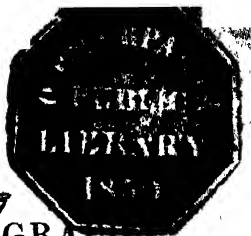
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## READINGS IN BIOGRAPHY.

### THE LIFE OF SESOSTRIS.

BETWEEN 1500 AND 1400 B. C.

THE stupendous monuments of Egyptian art,—the pyramids, the catacombs, the temples, the gigantic statues,—are proofs of the great desire felt by the ancient Egyptians to transmit their remembrance to remote posterity. They have succeeded in attracting to their history a more than ordinary share of public attention; but, at the same time, there is no country of which the antiquities are so obscure and the chronology so uncertain. The interpretation of their hieroglyphics is a problem of immense difficulty; and, notwithstanding the learning and ingenuity that have been devoted to the task, the prospect of complete success is still very remote. It is certain, however, that, at a very remote period, Egypt possessed the advantages of a settled government, had made rapid progress in civilization, and had become the centre of a profitable commerce. During this period, of Egyptian power and prosperity, there arose a monarch, whose conquests extended over a great part of western Asia and northern Africa; his name was Sesostris, or Rameses. Memorials of his victorious career existed in the conquered countries for many centuries: pictured and sculptured representations of his exploits are still to be found

in the temples and palaces of the Egyptian Thebes; and yet we cannot tell ~~with certainty~~ when this mighty conqueror lived.

There is, however, strong proof adduced, that Sesostris flourished more than fourteen centuries before the Christian era; and there are very plausible grounds for the conjecture, that the period of his victories nearly coincides with the close of the forty years wandering in the desert. If so, what reason have we to admire the vondrous dispensation of that Providence, which, "in the midst of judgment remembers mercy." The punishment inflicted on the Israelites protected them from the ravages of a ferocious and successful warrior: the Egyptians, by their victories over the Canaanites, prepared the way for the future establishment of Abraham's posterity in the promised land. It has been objected, that the Egyptians could scarcely have recovered so soon from the fearful visitations with which their cruelty to the Israelites had been punished: but it is sufficient to reply, that the Pharaoh whose army perished in the Red Sea, was the King of Lower Egypt. Sesostris reigned in Upper Egypt, and very probably was enabled by that catastrophe to annex the northern part of the country to his dominions. The history of Sesostris, like that of all ancient heroes, is disfigured by many fables, because it was originally recorded by poets, not by historians.

The birth-place of Sesostris was the Egyptian Thebes, the most splendid and opulent city either of ancient or modern times. He was born at the time when the Egyptians, having expelled the *Hyksos*, or Shepherd Kings, were about to enter on that great career of prosperity which raised them above all contemporary nations. His father, Amenophis, is said to have given him a

warlike education, and to have assigned him as companions for his studies and for his future wars, all the male children born throughout his dominions in the same year with his son. Adversity also gave him the advantages of her severe but valuable instructions. The Hyksos having again invaded Egypt, Amenophis was obliged to fly into Ethiopia, entrusting his son, then aged only five years, to the care of a friend. Sesostris, as he grew up, displayed his strength and courage in many contests with the lions, and other fierce beasts of Africa. As he approached the age of manhood, he assembled his young companions, and joined his father in an effort to expel the Hyksos, which was completely successful. After the death of Amenophis, Sesostris led his forces against the Hyksos, who inhabited the mountainous districts to the east of Egypt, and were probably an Arabian tribe. The war terminated in the complete subjugation of these cruel tyrants: their strong-holds were stormed, and so perfect was the conquest, that we never again meet their name in history. A naval expedition on the Arabian and Indian Seas was the next undertaking. The fleet prepared for the purpose consisted of war-galleys, different in shape from those to which the Egyptians had been accustomed in the navigation of the Nile. We may, perhaps, conjecture, that they were invented by the Hyksos, and that Sesostris, after the conquest of that people, had wisdom to profit by the arts of the vanquished.

The enemies whom Sesostris encountered in the southern seas were the Indians, or Hindoos, and the Asiatic Ethiopians, who inhabited the country between the river Indus and the Persian Gulf. This, indeed, is proved by the representation of one of the naval engagements still existing in the ancient palace of Seso-

tris, now called Medinet Abou, among the ruins of Thebes. The Egyptians are armed with bows and arrows; their allies carry clubs. The weapons of the enemies are swords and round shields: but they differ in their head-dress, the Indians wearing feathers, and the Ethiopians fur caps. None of the Hyksos are present; for they are always depicted on the monuments with long beards and flowing garments. Sesostris, in this expedition, seems to have merely subdued the coasts, though an attack on a fortress is frequently found depicted on his monuments; and we know that fortresses abounded in Bactria. But these probably represent the events of a different expedition; and some certainly relate to the storming of the mountain castles of the Hyksos.

The next expedition of Sesostris was against the African Ethiopians, whose territories included most of the districts south of Egypt. The monuments discovered at Kalabshè confirm the accounts given by historians of the great success that attended the Egyptian monarch. We are told that Sesostris conquered the southern Africans, and compelled them to pay him a tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory. On a monument raised by Sesostris himself, the circumstances of the tribute may still be seen. The King is seated on his throne in regal costume: in the upper compartment a herald presents to him the widowed queen and orphan children of the monarch whom he has defeated and slain: behind her follows the booty, consisting of weapons, utensils, and food. Next come wild beasts, with their keepers, a lion, a goat, steers with their horns artificially twisted, and finally, men bearing skins and ebony. In the second compartment are captives, led bound for slaughter; then beasts and their leaders,

a hound, an ape, a giraffe, a gazelle. Women and children next follow, and with them we see a hound and an ostrich. The apes, the ostrich, and the giraffe could only be obtained from the remote interior of Africa; and the monument, therefore, bears testimony to the great extent of the conquests of Sesostris. It is also valuable for another reason: the elephant does not appear among the animals presented to the conqueror; and therefore the victories of Sesostris must have been obtained before that powerful beast was tamed.

After the conquest of Ethiopia, the Egyptian monarch subdued the greater part of Syria and Asia Minor, and even penetrated into Thrace. He also established a colony in Colchis. The pillars which he erected in every country that he subdued, long existed to mark the limits of his career: Herodotus saw them, after the lapse of a thousand years, in Asia Minor and Palestine. The rebellion of his brother compelled Sesostris to halt in the midst of his conquests, and return to Egypt. Soon after his return, this treacherous brother, whose name was Armais, attempted to destroy the King, by setting fire to the palace in which Sesostris and all his family were asleep. The King is said to have escaped by the horrible expedient of throwing the bodies of two of his children as a bridge over the flames. Armais fled from the just vengeance of his brother, and is supposed to have led a colony to southern Greece, where he took the name of Danaus.

The stupendous edifices erected by Sesostris at Memphis, Thebes, and in Nubia, were unparalleled for their magnitude and splendour. Modern researches have brought us acquainted with their remains, and we are forced to acknowledge, that even with all the resources of modern art, we could scarcely hope to rival monu-

ments that have resisted the lapse of three thousand years.

In his later years Sesostris is said to have indulged in all the cruel insolence of power, and to have yoked captive kings to his chariot. Observing one of these unfortunate princes gaze steadfastly on the revolution of the chariot-wheel, the Egyptian monarch asked, "What was it that thus attracted his attention?" The captive king replied, "Great Sovereign! the rotation of the wheel calls to my mind the vicissitudes of fortune; for, as every part of its circle is uppermost and lowermost by turns, so is it with men, who one day sit on thrones, and the next, are reduced to the vilest state of slavery." Sesostris is said to have felt the strength of this answer so forcibly, that he for the future abandoned the degrading custom of compelling his captives to perform the duty of beasts. Another act of despotic power was of a much more honourable character: he divided Egypt into districts, and assigned mensal lands for the support of the officers of state and ministers of religion; and he summarily removed all the abuses that were incident to the establishment of monarchy.

After a long and glorious reign, Sesostris, from some unknown cause, committed suicide, and the Egyptian priests had the monstrous baseness to praise the manner of his death.

## SEMIRAMIS.

### AGE UNCERTAIN.

THE Assyrian empire was probably the first founded in the world; but its strength was of slower growth than that of Egypt, and its earliest rulers, the chiefs of disorganized hordes, rather than the sovereigns of a

nation. Nimrod, who is also called Baal, Bel, and Belus, words which signify a ruler, was the first who established a monarchy in central Asia. In Scripture he is called "a mighty hunter before the Lord," a phrase which seems to intimate, that he was the leader of a tribe not yet accustomed to settled habitations, such as those of the Tartars and American Indians. At an unknown period, three kingdoms seem to have been established in the countries bordering on the rivers Tigris and Euphrates ;—those of Assyria, Babylon, and Mesopotamia ; but the history of their condition and progress is hopelessly obscure.

The Assyrian kingdom was first raised to eminence by a monarch named Ninus, whose exploits are so like those recorded of Sesostriis, that we can scarcely avoid suspecting perfect identity, and believing that the Assyrians ascribed to their hero many exploits really performed by the Egyptian king. As far, however, as certainty is attainable, it may be stated, that the states of Babylon, Mesopotamia, and Persia, were reduced under the power of the Assyrians ; and that the city of Babylon was dismantled, in order to prevent its becoming a rival to the new city of Nineveh, which the Assyrian monarch had founded on the banks of the Tigris, and called after his own name. After having subdued several states in central Asia, Ninus invaded Bactria, but was long detained by the obstinate defence of its principal fortress. He was about to resign the siege in despair, when he was informed, that the wife of one of his principal officers had proposed a plan which would ensure the immediate capture of the castle. The lady was summoned to the royal presence ; and this was the first introduction of Semiramis on the stage of public life. Of her previous history little is known. Like the first



Catherine of Russia, she appears to have been of humble parentage; but, at a later period, flatterers and parasites invented the story of her descent from the fabulous divinities of Assyria.

Semiramis not only pointed out the most eligible point of attack, but actually led the storming party herself, and, attacking the castle on the side where it was left unguarded, from mistaken confidence in its natural strength, she soon became mistress of the place. Ninus, struck with the glory of this exploit, forced the husband of the heroine to resign his claims, and made Semiramis the partner of his empire. During the remainder of his life, Ninus was engaged in adorning and beautifying the city of Nineveh, which he fondly hoped would be the permanent seat of Asiatic dominion. At his death, he bequeathed to his spouse the regency of the empire, and the guardianship of Ninyas, his infant son. The Queen showed her gratitude by erecting a huge mound over his remains, which long continued in the plains where Nineveh was built, to be the sole memorial both of the empire and the city.

Semiramis, as regent, proved herself a better sovereign than her husband. She resolved to restore Babylon to its former strength, and effected her design so completely, that to her, by many authors, the foundation of the city has been attributed. Before its capture by Ninus, Babylon seems to have been little better than a cluster of huts built round the great Tower of Belus, on the left bank of the Euphrates. Semiramis made it a powerful city, and erected a bridge over the river, the first recorded structure of the kind. There are authors who attribute to her the glory of all the superb edifices that made Babylon the wonder of the world: but this is clearly a mistake. She merely traced

out the plan, which it was reserved for Nebuchadnezzar to perfect.

Having provided for the security of Babylon, her second capital, Semiramis determined to pursue her husband's plan of universal empire. She subdued the greater part of central Asia, but, during these expeditions, provoked the enmity of her soldiers, by the severity of her discipline and the abandoned profligacy of her conduct. While victory, however, crowned her arms, the just dissatisfaction of the army was suppressed; but, when she suffered a calamitous defeat in her attempt to invade India, the public discontent was displayed in revolts and conspiracies. She was at length slain by assassins, employed by her son Ninyas.

Ninyas and his successors were slothful sovereigns, who confined themselves to their palace, and left the cares of state to their ministers. Sardanapalus was the last of the degraded race. His subjects rose in arms against him, and, to escape their vengeance, he committed suicide. After his death, Nineveh and Babylon became the capitals of different empires.

### CYRUS.\*

BORN B. C. 599—DIED B. C. 529.

DURING the pre-eminence of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, Persia was alternately subject to the more powerful, but was still ruled by native sovereigns. At an unknown period it became a province

\* In the life of Cyrus we have followed the authority of Xenophon rather than Herodotus. The narrative of the latter is manifestly taken from some poem or romance, in which the real actions of the hero are mingled with some of the wild fictions in which the Persians of every age take such extravagant delight. The account given by Xenophon is

of the Median kingdom, but was treated rather as an allied than a conquered country. Cambyzes, a petty prince among the Persians, was united in marriage to Mandane, the daughter of the Median monarch, and probably on this account became the Satrap or provincial governor of Persia. The offspring of this union was Cyrus, who was specially named by the prophet Isaiah, a hundred years before his birth. When Cyrus was born, the Asiatic States were in a condition well calculated to stimulate the ambition and reward the exertions of a conqueror. The empire of Babylon, which had been raised to the summit of glory by the abilities of Nebuchadnezzar, was slowly crumbling under the weight of its own magnitude. In western Asia the Lydian monarchs were endeavouring to found a new empire, but had to contend against the high spirit of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor; the nations of central Asia had little more than the form of a fixed government, and were held together by no bond of mutual alliance.

After having received the benefit of an excellent education in Persia, Cyrus removed to the court of his grandfather, where he was honourably distinguished by his abhorrence of courtly luxuries, and his ready obedience to the commands of his elders and superiors.

not only more probable, but also more consistent with the brief notices of Cyrus given in the Holy Scriptures.

The poetical Persian history, called the "Sháh Náme," or Book of Kings, is a collection of the most extravagant fictions, from which it is scarcely possible to extract even a hint of the truth. Still it is worthy of remark, that the adventures of Kai-Khosroú bear a greater similarity to Xenophon's Life of Cyrus than to that of Herodotus, in every part, except the semi-miraculous adventures of the hero in his infancy.

After this he returned to Persia, where he remained until summoned to the assistance of his uncle Cyaxares, who, on succeeding to the throne of Astyages, found himself surrounded by enemies. Of these the most formidable were the Kings of Babylon and Lydia, but the most urgent was the King of Armenia, who had been formerly a tributary to the Medes.

Cyrus, on his arrival in Media, at once commenced operations; he advanced into Armenia, where no preparations had been made for resistance, and by an unexpected attack made the rebellious prince and all his family prisoners. With clemency very unusual in that age and country, Cyrus not only spared the lives of his captives, but treated them with the most tender and generous kindness. His noble conduct had an appropriate reward; the Armenians became steadfast adherents instead of reluctant subjects, and by their grateful valour contributed in no small degree to their conqueror's future victories.

The ruler of Babylon at this time was Neriglissar, who had dethroned and put to death Evil-Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar. Alarmed at the overthrow of the Armenians, he summoned his ally, Cræsus king of Lydia, to take the field, and crush at once the rising fortunes of the Persians. Notwithstanding this activity, however, more than three years elapsed before the hostile armies came to an engagement. The Babylonians had a great numerical superiority, but this was more than counterbalanced by a want of unity in their army, which was composed of many different nations not speaking each other's language, and wholly unacquainted with each other's tactics. It was probably on this account that Neriglissar determined to act on the defensive; an unfortunate resolution: for the moral courage

arising from fancied superiority generally ensures the victory for the assailants. Cyrus, knowing that the enemies were superior to him in slingers and archers, resolved to bring his soldiers at once to close combat; he broke through the centre of the hostile lines in the very first charge, and the divided army was at once thrown into remediless confusion. Neriglissar fell on the field; Cræsus, perceiving the battle lost, led the shattered remnant of his forces into his entrenched camp. But this refuge afforded him only a brief protection; the Hyrcanians revolted to Cyrus during the night, and joining the Persians aided in storming the camp on the following morning. The confederates made but a feeble resistance, and Cræsus with difficulty made his escape to Lydia.

Neriglissar was succeeded by Laborosoarchod, in whose reign two Babylonian lords, Gobryas and Gaddates, revolted to the Persians. Laborosoarchod advanced with a numerous army to punish the revolters, but was encountered by Cyrus and severely defeated. In consequence of this victory, the Persians were enabled to lay waste the enemies' country, and they pursued their incursions to the very walls of Babylon. But empires are not to be won by mere predatory expeditions: Cyaxares, the Darius or King of the Medians, having brought reinforcements to his nephew's camp, recommended the invaders to direct their attention to the capture of fortified places, and thus gradually shut up the Babylonians in their own city. Cyrus adopted this judicious advice, and in a short time became master of all the castles and fortresses that guarded the main roads to Babylon. In the mean time the Babylonians had deposed Laborosoarchod, and returning once more

to the ancient line of princes, raised to the throne Nabonadius, the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar.

Nabonadius, called, in Scripture, Belshazzar, commenced his reign by a vigorous effort to check the victorious career of the Persians. He hastened to the court of his ally Cræsus, and by his aid collected an army from the principal nations of western Asia; he even procured a body of auxiliary forces from Egypt. Having completed these arrangements, Nabonadius appointed Cræsus commander of the allied forces, and returned to Babylon.

When intelligence of these events reached Cyrus, he divided his forces, leaving a portion under the command of Cyaxares to guard Media, while he led the rest against the confederates of western Asia. The hostile forces met at Thyatira, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of that country. Cræsus, availing himself of his immense superiority, extended his wings, consisting of cavalry and light troops, to outflank the Persians, while the Egyptians and the other heavy-armed soldiers attacked them in front. But when the Lydian cavalry came to the charge, their horses took fright at the camels on which the Persian archers were mounted, and fell into disorder. Cyrus seized the decisive moment to charge in turn, and after a faint resistance, the brilliant cavalry of Lydia were seen flying in disorder over the plain. The charge of the Persian war-chariots completed the rout of the Lydian wings, and Cyrus, believing the victory won, hasted forward in pursuit of the fugitives. But this premature confidence had nearly changed the fate of the day: the Persian war-chariots failed to make any impression on the close ranks and large shields of the Egyptians; they

were driven back with great slaughter, and the Egyptians advancing in their turn compelled the central division of the Persians to give ground. Cyrus returned from the pursuit just in time to save his centre from destruction; he at once attacked the Egyptians in the rear, but these brave men faced about and maintained the unequal combat with undaunted valour. They were at length induced to surrender on honourable conditions, and they entered into the service of Cyrus, with the single stipulation that they should not be compelled to fight against Crœsus.

We must defer the remaining part of the Lydian campaign until we come to relate the life of Crœsus in the next article. After the subjugation of Lydia, Cyrus conquered the greater part of western Asia; he then returned to besiege Babylon, the possession of which was the chief object of his ambition.

Nabonadius, or Belshazzar, had by no means answered the expectations of those by whom he had been raised to the throne. Relying on the strength of the walls, he shut himself up in Babylon, abandoning himself to every sensual indulgence that could gratify his pampered appetites, and either from indolence or cowardice refusing to meet the Persians in the field. Nor was this confidence altogether without foundation: for two entire years the Persian forces remained in their lines of circumvallation before the city, and were apparently as far from success as on the day that they commenced the siege. A large artificial lake, said to have been dug by Semiramis when she erected a bridge over the Euphrates, or, as some say, made a tunnel under it, for the purpose of drawing off the waters, suggested to Cyrus the means of taking the city by storm. He resolved to turn the waters of the Euphrates into this

lake, and on some night when the Babylonians held a festive solemnity, to lead his forces through the vacant channel into the very heart of the city.

• The night of a solemn festival came : Belshazzar gave a magnificent entertainment to the lords of his court ; and in the madness of his intemperance, ordered the sacred vessels that his grandsire had plundered from the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought to this scene of unhallowed mirth. But in the midst of his festivity, he saw a hand trace upon the wall words of mysterious import, which the prophet Daniel read, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN, and expounded as predicting the downfall of his kingdom. The event speedily followed the prediction : on that very night, Cyrus entered the city. The Babylonians, buried in wine and sleep, made no resistance. A few Lords of the Court assembled round their unfortunate King, and fell with him and the empire.

The conquest of Babylon made Cyrus undisputed sovereign of central Asia : he is said to have fixed the seat of government in the Persian capital ; and Babylon, thus deprived of preeminence, gradually sank into decay. Cyaxares, the Darius or King of Media, was, however, the first ruler of the new empire, and he strengthened his throne by following the counsels of the prophet Daniel, who had been long conspicuous both for wisdom and piety in the Babylonian Court. On the death of Cyaxares, Cyrus succeeded, and in the first year of his reign, put an end to the captivity of the Jews, by permitting them to return to Palestine and rebuild Jerusalem.

The remainder of this hero's life is involved in obscurity : according to some he was slain while invading Scythia ; according to others he ended his days in tran-

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quillity. There is, however, strong reason to believe that the former is the more correct opinion, and that Cyrus adds one more to the long list of conquerors whom moderate ambition led to fame and empire, but whom the inordinate desire of more brought to ruin and decay.

### CRÆSUS.

BEGAN TO REIGN B. C. 562—DETHRONED B. C. 548.

IN consequence of some internal commotions that took place in Greece, a great number of the inhabitants quitted their country, and formed colonies in Ionia, Æolia, and Caria, on the opposite coast of the Ægean sea. The new settlements made a most rapid progress in commercial wealth, refinement, and all the arts of social life; but they were jealous of the mutual prosperity of each other, and could not be persuaded to combine even by the prospect of common danger. The evils of this state of affairs were not felt while the neighbouring Asiatic nations remained in a state of barbarism; but no sooner had a powerful kingdom been established in Lydia, than the Greek colonies were exposed to a series of attacks which threatened to subvert their independence. The Lydian King Alyattes proved a formidable foe to the Græco-Asiatic States, but his hostility was averted for a time by his being involved in a war with the Medes. This war lasted six years, and terminated in a very extraordinary manner. Just when the two armies were on the point of engaging, the sun was totally eclipsed, a phenomenon by which both were so much alarmed, that they instantly concluded a peace. It is worthy of remark that Thales, a native of the Greek colony Miletus, in Asia Minor, had predicted

this eclipse some years before ; a proof that the Greeks had made great progress in astronomical science. This celebrated eclipse occurred May 28, B. C. 601.

Alyattes was succeeded by his son Cræsus, who completed the subjugation of the Greek cities in Asia. He was, however, a sovereign under whom they had little reason to regret the loss of their independence : mild, merciful, just, and intelligent, he ruled the states more like a father than a king. His court was the resort of all the Greek wise men ; he listened to their instructions with kindness, and even heard their reproofs with patience. Sardis, the Lydian capital, in his reign attained the place which Athens afterwards held ; it was the centre of all the learning and intelligence of the civilized world.

Not satisfied with the conquest of the colonies, Cræsus resolved to attack the Grecian islands, but was diverted from this design by the witty remonstrance of Bias of Priene, one of the seven wise men of Greece. The philosopher having visited Sardis, Cræsus inquired, " What news from Greece ? " — " Nothing very particular," replied the philosopher, " but that the Greek islanders are mustering a force of cavalry to invade Lydia." — " May the gods grant that they should persevere in such folly," said the king ; " what insanity is it for islanders utterly ignorant of horsemanship to attack the Lydians, the pride of Asia's chivalry." — " It is just such a piece of insanity," replied the philosopher, " as if the Lydians, who are wholly ignorant of navigation, should contend at sea with the Greek islanders, who are the best sailors in the world." The force of the reasoning was too evident, and Cræsus at once laid aside his rash designs.

Solon, the Athenian legislator, having visited Sardis,

Cræsus exhibited to him the vast treasures that had been accumulated by his ancestors; he then asked, "Whom he regarded as the happiest of men?"—"Tellus the Athenian, who lived virtuously, and died for his country." The disappointed monarch again inquired, "Whom he deemed next happy after Tellus?" The philosopher replied, "Cleobis and Biton, two Argives, who died in the performance of their filial duties."—"And do you not deem me happy?" asked the monarch in a rage. "No man," calmly answered Solon, "can be called happy before his death, for all things must be measured by the end." Cræsus was displeased with the candour of the Athenian, and dismissed him as a person unworthy of attention.

But all the Greeks did not emulate the virtue of Solon: the priests and false prophets, who managed the Grecian oracles, lured the credulous monarch by false hopes, and led him to destruction by their fallacious predictions. The chief of these was the oracle at Delphi, where the responses were given in such obscure and equivocal terms, that they might be accommodated almost to any event.

The first calamity that shaded the hitherto prosperous fortunes of Cræsus, was the accidental death of his beloved son Atys. It is said that Cræsus having dreamed that his son was slain by a dart, took every precaution to avert the threatened calamity. Atys, with the usual folly of youth, eagerly desired the pleasures which his prudent father had forbidden, and prevailed upon Cræsus to send him to a hunting match under the care of Adrastus, a Phrygian prince, who had sought refuge in the Lydian court. Unfortunately a dart thrown by Adrastus at a wild boar glanced aside, struck the prince, and laid him lifeless on the earth. The Phrygian prince

brought the body to Cræsus, and requested to atone with his life for the accidental homicide. But even in the depth of sorrow, Cræsus lost not his sense of justice. "Stranger," he replied, "your action is blameless, for it was undesigned; I knew long since that my son was destined to a premature death." But though pardoned by Cræsus, Adrastus could not forgive himself: when the funeral rites were completed, he slew himself on his victim's tomb.

The conquest of Armenia by Cyrus, and the victories obtained by that young prince over the Babylonians, naturally alarmed Cræsus for the stability of his kingdom. He resolved to resist the encroachments of the Persians; but before taking any decisive measures, he sent to consult the oracle of Delphi. The equivocal response of the oracle was, that "if he crossed the river Halys, (which separated Lydia from eastern Asia,) he would overthrow a great empire;" but at the same time the Delphian priests gave him the judicious advice of seeking the assistance of the Grecian states.

After the defeat of the Babylonians and Lydians, which has been already related in the life of Cyrus, Cræsus returned home, resolved to renew the war in the following year. Scarcely had he dismissed his mercenaries, when Cyrus determined to finish the war in one campaign, and advanced into Lydia. So rapid were his movements, that he brought the first notice of his own arrival in the plains of Sardis. Though surprised, the Lydians were not disheartened; they rallied round their beloved monarch, and met the Persians in the field. They were severely defeated, and compelled to shut themselves up within the walls of their capital.

The strength of Sardis afforded Cræsus ground for hope; could the siege be protracted until winter, the

Persians would be compelled to quit the field, and thus time might be gained for summoning his allies to his aid. Accident frustrated this plan. Hyreades, a Mardian mountaineer, saw a Lydian, who had dropped his helmet, descend for it from a part of the citadel which had been deemed inaccessible. He revealed the circumstance to Cyrus, obtained the command of a chosen body, and, ascending by this path, surprised and captured the citadel. The city itself soon fell; the Persians sacked it with great cruelty, and slaughtered an immense number of the inhabitants. It is said that a son of Cræsus, dumb from his birth, seeing his father about to be slain by a Persian soldier, burst the string of his tongue by a violent effort, and exclaimed, "Soldier, spare the king!"

Though Cyrus was the most merciful of all the conquerors that ever appeared in the East; he did not altogether escape from the contamination of barbarous customs. He sentenced Cræsus to be burned alive, and a pile was erected for the conquered monarch in the presence of the cruel victor. When placed upon the pile, Cræsus recalled to mind the words of the Athenian philosopher, and exclaimed, "Solon, Solon!" Cyrus was anxious to know who was the person that the king thus invoked, and heard from Cræsus the particulars of the warning that he had despised. Cyrus was so struck with the narrative, that he not only pardoned Cræsus, but took him into favour.

The Lydian king immediately afterwards sent his fetters as an appropriate offering to the Dæphic god, by whose oracles he had been so fatally deceived. The guardians of the oracle made a very poor excuse; they said, "that the gods themselves were subject to destiny; that the sufferings of Cræsus were a punishment for the

sins of his ancestor Gyges ; that the favour of the god had warded off his misfortunes for three years ; and finally that the response, rightly interpreted, predicted the destruction not of the Persian, but of the Lydian empire." Cræsus heard the reply with patience, but never again consulted oracles. Cræsus continued during the remainder of his life a faithful subject to the Persian monarch. Historians have not recorded the time or manner of his death. After the subjugation of Lydia, the Greek cities of Asia Minor submitted to the Persian government.

## ZOROASTER.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 520.

ZOROASTER, or, as he is called by the Persians, Zerdusht, is one of those persons whose name is everywhere celebrated, but of whose real history little, if any thing, certain is known. It is universally acknowledged that he was the founder of the Persian religion, as it existed in the most flourishing state of that kingdom, but it is doubted whether he was the originator or merely the reformer of the national worship. The most probable conjecture is, that he revived the system which had been taught some centuries before by the Chaldean Zoroaster, whose name he assumed when he resolved to adopt his creed. Both the oriental and the Greek accounts of his life are very obscure ; but some light may be thrown on his history by considering the state of Persia when first he appeared in public life.

Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, having murdered his brother, died of an accidental wound, and thus the direct line of princes became extinct. One of

the Magi, or Persian priests, who resembled the murdered prince in person, procured his elevation to the throne, by asserting that he was the son of Cyrus, and had escaped from the assassins. The imposture was detected, the Magian was deposed and slain, and the crown transferred to Gushtasp, whom the Greeks call Darius Hystaspes. A number of improbable and even impossible circumstances are added to these details by the historians, but the following appears to be the most probable account that can be extracted from the cloud of fable. The priests of Persia formed a *caste*, or tribe, and possessed great influence over the people; their power was, however, limited by the royal authority, but when, by the elevation of the Magian impostor, they had acquired the reins of civil and ecclesiastical government, their unchecked despotism provoked a revolution. Just as the temporal and spiritual usurpations of the Romish church led to the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War, Zerdusht appeared to oppose the religious corruptions of the Magi, at the same time that Gushtasp attacked their civil power, and by their joint efforts the Magian dynasty was overthrown. The religion of Zerdusht was then established in Persia, and the Magi bitterly persecuted.

It is said by many oriental writers, and with very great appearance of truth, that Zerdusht learned some principles of the true religion from one of the Jewish prophets. Some have conjectured that Daniel was his instructor, and add, that his hatred to the Magi arose from their having caused the prophet to be thrown into the den of lions. However that may be, it is certain that the system of Zerdusht approached much nearer to the pure religion of the patriarchs than any other among the idolatrous nations. He taught the unity of the

Deity, and the doctrine of a future state; he strictly forbade the worship of images, but he erred in permitting reverence to be paid to the sun and to fire as the most perfect visible symbols of the Divinity. He also erroneously taught that there was an Evil Being whose power was at present equal to that of the Author of all good; but he asserted that at the end of the world the Evil Spirit would be finally subdued and made captive. The religion of Zerdusht is still professed by the Parsees or Ghebirs in the East, and traces of it may be found in the Mohammedan creed, and in some ancient heresies.

Five years after his first appearance as a teacher, Zerdusht was slain by a prince of some idolatrous nation, whose enmity he had provoked by his hostility to images.

## LYCURGUS AND SOLON.

LEGISLATION OF LYCURGUS B. C. 884—LEGISLATION OF  
SOLON B. C. 594.

THOUGH these celebrated legislators were so far from being contemporaries, that there was an interval of three centuries between them, we have placed them together for the purpose of contrasting their different systems of legislation.

Polydectes, the king of Sparta, dying, his brother Lycurgus succeeded to the throne; but scarcely had his authority been recognized, when he learned that the widowed queen was pregnant. This unprincipled woman offered to destroy her child, if Lycurgus would promise to make her his wife; he pretended compliance, but as soon as the child was born, he ordered that it should be



brought privately to him. The queen was delivered of a boy, whom *Lycurgus* presented to the lords of Sparta as their king, and named him *Charilaus*, which signifies *the joy of the people*. *Lycurgus* continued to govern the state as regent during the greater part of the child's minority; but finding that the disappointed queen misrepresented his conduct, and rendered him suspected among the people, he resigned his office, and went into voluntary exile. The want of a code of laws had been long felt sensibly in Sparta, and *Lycurgus* resolved to collect from the various countries into which he travelled such institutions as should be best calculated to promote the prosperity of his native state.

In pursuance of this design, he travelled over Crete, and passing thence into western Asia, visited the Greek colonies of Ionia. Here he is said to have discovered the works of Homer, and to have been the first who made the European Greeks acquainted with these unrivalled poems.

During his absence the affairs of Sparta fell into great confusion; that state was governed by two kings of equal authority, consequently their mutual jealousies exposed the city to incessant broils, which were greatly increased by the turbulence of the nobles and the people. The rights both of the princes and the different orders being undefined, the constitution was continually shifting between the extremes of absolute tyranny and unrestrained democracy. These evils at length became so great, that the parties resolved to make *Lycurgus* the umpire of their disputes, and receive from him the form of their constitution. Thus honourably recalled, *Lycurgus*, to strengthen his authority, procured a response from the oracle of Delphi, declaring, "that the common-

wealth which observed his laws should be the most famous in the world;" and having thus strengthened his authority by superstition, he proceeded to act as the legislator of Sparta.

The laws of Lycurgus were designed to form his countrymen into a purely military nation. The equal distribution of land—the prohibition of commerce—the total abolition of the use of money—and the prevention of luxury, had all the same object,—the making every citizen a soldier. To this every other principle was sacrificed,—the delicacy of the female sex, the domestic affections, and all the virtues of social life. Murder was not only permitted, but commanded; and lying, and theft recommended; and cruelty to the weak, called Helots, not only sanctioned, but encouraged. Yet on this code the most extravagant praise has been bestowed, not merely by Pagan, but by some Christian writers; and a system which could at best, have only produced a race of military ruffians, is lauded as the very consummation of human wisdom. No literary glory ennobles the annals of the Spartan commonwealth. That state did not produce a single poet, philosopher, orator, or historian, for all intellectual pursuits were proscribed by its laws. Its only merit was, that the soldiers were the best in Greece; but a very short experience of Spartan rule proved, that the superiority which rests on force alone has the principles of decay interwoven with the very materials of its strength. But when we condemn the laws of Lycurgus, we must not forget, that the rude age in which he lived must bear no small share of the blame. His laws were certainly an improvement on the imperfect legislation that they superseded. Their

fault was, that they were devised in a period of barbarism, and supposed to be applicable to a future period of intelligence.

The law for the equal distribution of lands naturally provoked violent opposition: Alcander, a young nobleman of some wealth, in the fierceness of his resistance, struck Lycurgus savagely in the face, and dashed out one of his eyes. The indignant populace seized Alcander, and placed his life at the disposal of the person whom he had thus savagely wounded; but Lycurgus, instead of showing any resentment, took him home, and treated him as his son. Conquered by such kindness, Alcander became one of the most strenuous supporters of the new constitution.

Having completed his code of laws, Lycurgus resolved to get it ratified by the oracle of Delphi. Having exacted an oath from the Spartans, that they would make no change in the constitution, he proceeded to Delphi, and demanded of the Oracle, "Whether his laws were calculated to render the Spartans prosperous?" Being answered in the affirmative, he retired to Crete, in order that the Spartans should continue bound by the oath they had given. With the same design, he ordered, at his death, that his body should be burned, and his ashes cast into the sea.

The benefits that result from fixed laws, however imperfect, were displayed in the instance of the Spartans, who soon became the first among the nations of southern Greece. The Athenians, fired with emulation, resolved to follow their example, and chose as their legislator Draco, a man of stern disposition, but of the most unswerving integrity. His code was, however, so intolerably severe, that it could not be executed; for he assigned death as the punishment of every offence,

great and small. The laws, therefore, soon became inoperative, and the evils proposed to be remedied were greatly aggravated. At the moment when the calamities of the state were at the greatest height, a new legislator appeared, whose wise institutions soon restored tranquillity.

Solon, the great legislator of the Athenians, and perhaps the greatest of the heathen world, was the son of Execestides, a noble Athenian, whom too lavish hospitality had reduced to poverty. By the mother's side, he was connected with the line of the ancient kings, and Peisistratus, the future ruler of his country, was his cousin. While he was yet a youth, the Athenians were driven from the island of Salamis, and suffered so severely in their vain efforts to re-conquer it, that they forbade the name of the island to be mentioned, under pain of death. Solon, indignant at the loss and disgrace to which Athens had been subjected, rushed into the market-place, disguised as a madman, and recited a poem which he had composed, urging the Athenians, in the most affecting terms, to make another effort to retrieve their fame. The effect of these spirited verses was increased by the eloquence of Peisistratus: the Athenians were induced to send out an armament, which proved completely successful. Soon afterwards, Solon served in the war undertaken by the united states of Greece against the people of Cirrha, for having violated the sacred ground belonging to the temple of Delphi; and the success of the war was mainly owing to the adoption of his measures. On his return, he found his native city distracted by violent factions: but so great was his character for wisdom and probity, that all parties joined in raising him to the dignity of Archon, as the first magistrate at Athens was called,

and requesting him to undertake the duties of a legislator. Solon, with unusual wisdom, professed, that it was his design to give the Athenians, not the best possible laws, but the best laws that they were capable of receiving; thus showing his design of accommodating his laws to existing circumstances, and not to some fanciful scheme of visionary perfection. He began by abrogating all the laws of Draco, except those against murder: for other crimes he provided a graduated scale of punishment proportioned to their enormity. Convinced that the power of the mob must always be formidable to a popular government, Solon strenuously laboured to increase the authority both of the Senate, and of the Court of Areopagus, the supreme court of criminal judicature. He also enacted laws for the encouragement of industry; the protection of agriculture and trade; and the securing of the rights of property. The excellence of his laws was proved by their permanence under all the revolutions of government that took place in Athens, and by their being adopted in many other states. The Roman laws of the Twelve Tables were founded on the code of Solon; and they again became the foundation of the Civil Law as it is now established in Europe. On the other hand, the unnatural system of Lycurgus never commanded perfect obedience; and when once a daring innovator had abolished any of his institutions, its restoration was an absolute impossibility. Solon also reformed the Athenian calendar, and displayed, in his mode of reconciling the lunar and solar years, a very unusual share of astronomical knowledge.

Having completed his task as legislator, Solon quitted his country for the purpose of visiting Egypt and western Asia, which were then pre-eminent above all other

parts of the world for their great advance in learning and civilization. During this period, he had the interview with Cræsus, already related in the life of that monarch. It is said, that Æsop, the celebrated writer of fables, was at the Lydian court at the same time, and that he rebuked Solon for his freedom, saying, "Let your visits to kings be as rare as possible;" to which the Athenian answered, "You should rather say, Let them be as seldom or as profitable as possible." At Miletus, Solon visited Thales, the celebrated astronomer, who was now in the decline of life. He blamed him for having passed his days in solitude, and being now without a child to soothe his old age. Thales made no reply, but engaged a person to pretend, that he had just come from Athens, with intelligence of the death of Solon's son. The Athenian burst into tears, when Thales confessed the artifice, and declared, that he had avoided marriage through anxiety to avoid a chance of similar sorrow,—a declaration unworthy of so wise a man; since the joys that he might have derived from the affection of a family, far outbalance the afflictions they may occasion.

On his return to Athens, Solon found that Peisistratus had usurped the government, without, however, making any decisive change in the form of the constitution. Having vainly endeavoured to prevail on his cousin to resign his illegal power, Solon resolved not to witness evils that he could not prevent, and went into voluntary exile. Before his departure, however, he resolved to witness one of the dramatic performances which Thespis had recently introduced. When the play was concluded, Solon, advancing to the author, said, "I wonder you are not ashamed to tell lies before so great an audience." Thespis replied, "There can

be no harm in giving a specious form to falsehood, provided it be done in jest." "Ah!" cried the wise legislator, striking the ground with his staff; "if once we are pleased with your falsehoods in jest, we shall soon have them creep into our more serious affairs."

Solon did not long survive his second departure from Athens; he died in exile, but at what precise time and place is uncertain.

## XERXES.

BEGAN TO REIGN B.C. 485—DIED B.C. 464.

WE have already mentioned, that the history of Persia, as related by the native writers, is wholly inconsistent with the accounts given by the Grecian historians. The reign of the monarch whose life we are about to relate, is wholly omitted in the oriental annals; probably because the events by which it was distinguished were far from gratifying rational vanity. Soon after Darius Hystaspes, or Gushtasp, had been raised to the throne, he connected himself with the line of ancient kings, by marrying Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus. From her Xerxes was sprung, and he claimed to be regarded as the heir to the crown, in preference to his elder brother Artabazanes, who was the son of a private woman, and born while Darius was in a private station. Notwithstanding the magnitude of the object for which they contended, the fraternal affection of the rivals continued unabated: and when judgment was finally given in favour of Xerxes, Artabazanes displayed the loyal obedience of a subject, joined to the tender love of a brother. The reign of Hystaspes had been eminently glorious; but two remarkable disasters had sullied its fame. He had been personally defeated by the Scy-

thians ; and the armies which he sent to invade Greece were annihilated by the Athenians on the glorious plains of Marathon. Scarcely had Xerxes been seated on the throne, when he resolved to avenge the latter disgrace, and the din of preparations resounded through all the vast dominions of Persia.

A council was held to deliberate respecting the intended war, which was violently opposed by the King's uncle, Artabanus, and as violently supported by his brother-in-law, Mardonius. The latter had commanded the expedition which Darius sent against the Greeks, and hoped, in a new war, to obliterate the memory of his former defeat. Xerxes at first harshly rebuked his uncle ; but, on reflection, became ashamed of his conduct, and apologized for his rashness. He retired to the palace full of anxiety ; but that night saw a vision, which induced him finally to determine on the war. In viewing the relation of this circumstance, it is impossible to avoid the suspicion of an artifice, probably designed by Mardonius. A man of mysterious appearance, and singularly dressed, stood at midnight by the royal couch, and commanded the King to punish the Greeks. The same scene was repeated on the following night. On the third night, Artabanus slept in the royal bed, and the mysterious visitor threatened him with fearful vengeance, if he persevered in his peaceful counsels. Awed by these events, Artabanus withdrew his opposition, and the preparations for war were renewed with fresh vigour.

Three years were spent in collecting all the immense forces of the Eastern world ; and in the mean time Xerxes entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians in the west, by which it was stipulated, that they should attack the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy, and pre-



vent them from sending any assistance to the parent states. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel, that "The King of Persia, by his strength, through his riches, should stir up all against the realm of Javan," as Greece is called in the Old Testament. The Persian forces were assembled at Sardis, and their numbers are said to have exceeded two millions of men.\* This, however, must be an exaggeration, and probably one-fourth of the amount would exceed the actual number. Before marching towards Greece, Xerxes ordered a bridge of boats to be built over the Hellespont, and a canal to be cut through the isthmus which joins Mount Athos to Macedon. The bridge had scarcely been erected, when it was destroyed by a tempest; and Xerxes is said to have ordered the workmen to be beheaded, and the sea to be beaten with rods, for daring to rebel against his sovereign will. Before, however, we give implicit credit to this anecdote, we must remember, that the only accounts we have, of this war, were written by the Greeks, whose histories are by no means conspicuous for impartiality. Neither is the account very consistent with another anecdote, related on the same authority;—that Xerxes, after having reviewed his immense army at Abydos, burst into tears, when he reflected on the few years that should elapse before all whom he beheld would have disappeared from the earth. It is rarely that wanton cruelty is found united with a heart capable of such humane emotions.

Having led his army over the bridge, Xerxes received the submission of the kings of Thrace and Macedon;

\* If to these be added the sailors of the fleet, the suttlers, and the other attendants of the camp, the army of Xerxes would amount to more than five millions. This is utterly incredible; for all Greece could not have supplied provisions for one-fifth of such a multitude.

advanced towards the mountainous range by which Greece Proper is bounded, and was astonished to learn, that a body of men, not exceeding four thousand, had resolved to dispute his passage through the Straits of Thermopylæ. The Greeks, who thus resolved to dare the overwhelming forces of Persia, were commanded by Leonidas, one of the Spartan kings. Their position was naturally strong: on the west rose a ridge of lofty mountains, apparently inaccessible; on their right were the sea and a rocky coast; in their front were several dangerous marshes, where it was impossible for a numerous army to deploy. Xerxes, having vainly summoned the Greeks to surrender, ordered an immediate attack; but the feeble Asiatics were unable to make any impression on the Grecian lines; and their successive assaults, which lasted three days, were invariably repelled. At length Ephialtes, a Trachinian deserter, showed the Persians a path leading to the summit of the hills that overhung the Strait: these were immediately secured by a strong detachment, and the Grecian post was no longer tenable. When Leonidas heard of these events, he dismissed his auxiliaries, declaring, that it was unlawful for him or the Spartans to fly, and that he was resolved to sacrifice himself for the good of Greece. He then ordered his men to take refreshment, saying, "Let us dine cheerfully, my friends, for this night we shall sup with Pluto."

It has been usual to ascribe the conduct of Leonidas to an insane design of uselessly sacrificing his life, and the lives of his men, to a mere point of honour. A more rational, and therefore a more probable account is, that he wished to try the effects of a night attack, and put an end to the war by a sudden dash for killing or capturing the Persian monarch. Nor

was such an effort altogether hopeless. Even at the present day, 'oriental armies are remarkable for their want of watchfulness and military discipline, and are peculiarly liable to be irretrievably ruined by a sudden surprise. When the sun had set, Leonidas led his little band, and, undiscovered and unchallenged, entered the Persian camp: they succeeded in penetrating to the royal pavilion; but the alarm had been previously given, and Xerxes escaped. An immense number of the Persians fell in this night attack; but when the dawn showed the weakness of the assailants, the Spartans were forced to retire, which they did in good order, to their old position. The straits were again attacked, and the battle continued doubtful, until the rear of the Spartans was attacked by the troops which Ephialtes had led over the mountains. Even then the gallant band refused to surrender; but, forming themselves into a circle, continued their resistance until they fell overwhelmed by numbers. The Theban auxiliaries were, however, a dishonourable exception to the general display of Grecian valour: they deserted to the Persians in the very first onset. Xerxes is said to have stamped his character with infamy by wantonly mutilating and insulting the bodies of the noble Leonidas and his gallant companions.

On the very same day that the battle of Thermopylæ was fought, an engagement took place between the navies of Greece and Persia, off the headland of Artemisium, a cape in the island of Eubœa. The result was not decisive, but the Greeks obtained sufficient advantages to justify their claim to victory. When intelligence of the death of Leonidas arrived, the leaders of the Grecian fleet determined to retire into the Saronic

Gulf, as there was no longer a possibility of defending northern Greece.

After passing Thermopylæ, Xerxes divided his army into two portions; one he led in person to invade Attica, the other was despatched to ravage the Phocian territories. The Athenians had no means of resisting the invaders. They applied to the oracle for advice, and were told, "To trust for their safety to wooden walls." Themistocles, one of the wisest statesmen that Greece ever produced, persuaded his countrymen, that the oracle alluded to the Athenian navy, and, by his influence, a resolution of abandoning the city was almost unanimously adopted. The young and vigorous proceeded to the islands of Salamis and Ægina; the aged were hospitably received in Træzene, the only Argive city that had not submitted to the Persians. The evacuation of the city had been scarcely completed, when the Persian army arrived: a few, who interpreted the oracle literally, attempted to defend the citadel, which they had fortified with palisades; but they were soon overcome, and put to the sword. Xerxes, thus victorious, cruelly devastated Athens and the surrounding country.

Far different was the fate of the detachment that had been sent into Phocis: after subduing and destroying the cities of the plain, the Persian forces marched against the temple of Delphi, situated in the recesses of Mount Parnassus. The winding ravines through which the road to the temple ran, afforded many positions, where

• A hundred men might hold the post  
With hardihood against a host: •

• These had been secured by the provident care of the Phocian leaders, while the priests used all the arts that

might impose on credulity, to inspire their soldiers with preternatural courage, and fill their enemies with superstitious terror. The invaders advanced within a short distance of the holy city, when a sudden storm threw them into confusion: they believed that Apollo had come to vindicate the majesty of his temple, and their hearts sank within them. In the midst of their dismay they were charged by the Delphians, who rushed down with resistless fury from their mountain fastnesses.

There were cries of wild dismay,  
 There were shouts of warrior glee,  
 There were savage sounds of the tempest's mirth,  
 That shook the realm of their eagle birth,  
 But the mount of song, when they died away,  
 Still rose, with its temple free!

The shattered remains of the Persian forces fled into Bœotia, whence they proceeded to join the main body before Athens.

Xerxes, trusting to the immense superiority of his forces, now resolved to try his fortune in a naval engagement. Artemisia, Queen of Halicarnassus, who had joined the Persians with a squadron of five ships, vainly remonstrated against this resolution; the Persian navy received orders to approach Salamis, and this manœuvre prevented the dispersion of the Grecian fleet, which had nearly separated in consequence of the selfish policy of the Spartans.

From the rocky summit of mount Ægialos, Xerxes beheld his numerous squadrons advancing towards the small but compact fleet of the Grecians. The battle began, and its issue was determined almost in an instant: a great part of the Asiatic crews consisted of men utterly unacquainted with naval affairs; their ships ran foul of each other, and their lines were broken before they came in contact with the enemy. The Athenians

were at this time the first of maritime nations; their sailors were used to the management of vessels in the narrow seas, a circumstance which gave them a decided superiority over the Phœnicians and Egyptians, the only part of the Persian force that was at all formidable. The rout of the Persian fleet was completed by the unexpected desertion of several vessels belonging to the old Greek colonies of Asia, which passed over to the patriotic side. The narrow sea round Salamis was covered with wrecks and floating carcasses; never was a victory more complete, never a triumph acquired with such little loss to the conquerors. A party of the Persian infantry had been posted on the rocky island of Psyttalea, to guard the Greek prisoners, which the presumptuous monarch expected to have taken; but the detachment was attacked by the victorious Greeks, and cut to pieces before the eyes of Xerxes. Distracted at such a sight, he leaped from his silver throne, rent his royal robes, and issued orders for the immediate retreat of his army.

In their retrograde march the Persians suffered dreadfully from famine and consequent pestilence, so that when they reached the shores of the Hellespont, it was found that far the larger portion of the army had perished. Xerxes, collecting the wreck of his multitudes together, formed them into a new army, which he entrusted to the command of Mardonius, and then retired into Asia. His celebrated bridge had been previously destroyed by a tempest, and he was forced to pass the strait in a miserable fishing-boat. The army which he left behind was finally destroyed by the Greeks at the battle of Plataea.

Xerxes took up his residence at Sardis, where he disgraced himself by acts of the most savage debauchery

and ruthless cruelty. He murdered his brother Masises with his entire family because he dreaded the resentment which his former crimes had provoked, and he sanctioned all the barbarities of his queen Hamestris, who exceeded her husband in iniquity. The news of the defeat of his army at Platæa, and of his fleet at Mycale, so alarmed Xerxes, that he fled in haste to the interior of his empire, having first given orders for the destruction of all the temples in the Greek cities of Asia Minor. His commands were obeyed, the temple of Diana at Ephesus being alone permitted to escape. This, however, was not done from revenge, but from a religious motive; for idolatry was strictly prohibited by the institutions of Zoroaster, of which Xerxes was a strenuous supporter.

The Persian monarch did not long survive the calamitous termination of the Grecian expedition: he was assassinated by his own servants, who had become weary of witnessing his tyranny and profligacy. The conspirators conferred the crown on Artaxerxes, the third son of the murdered monarch.

## PERICLES.

BORN B. C. 492—DIED B. C. 428.

XANTHIPPIUS, the father of Pericles, was the commander of the Athenian fleet at the battle of Mycale, in which the naval power of Persia was totally destroyed. After having conferred this benefit on his country, he retired into private life, and devoted himself to the education of his son, whose youthful abilities afforded a fair promise of future eminence. Damon, an eminent politician, and Anaxagoras the first philosopher of the age, were employed to instruct the youth in the science of govern-

ment and the art of public speaking, and so well did he profit by their lessons, that he had not quite attained the age of manhood when he began to acquire influence in the state. The condition of Athens, when Pericles first appeared on the stage of public life, was peculiarly adapted to stimulate the ambition of an ardent and aspiring youth. The city had risen from its ashes with increased strength and greater splendour; the spoils of the Persians had greatly enlarged both national and individual wealth, while the vanity of the Athenians was gratified by finding homage paid to their fleet by all the islands and maritime states of the Ægean. Internally, there was a struggle between the privileged classes and the great bulk of the people for supremacy in the government; the aristocracy requiring that wealth and high birth should be allowed their fair share of influence; the democracy demanding a perfect equality. At the head of the aristocratic party was Cimon, the son of the celebrated Miltiades, a warrior of uncommon merit and success, gifted with high powers of natural eloquence, and still more honourably distinguished for his lofty moral principle and unswerving integrity. Pericles chose the opposite side in politics, and professed himself the patron of the people. This unfortunate determination induced him to pander to the base passions of the multitude, to gratify all their capricious desires, and to give the entire power of the State into the hands of the lowest rabble; and the necessary consequence was that it proved the pregnant source of misery to Pericles himself, and finally terminated in the ruin of his country.

The great wealth and unbounded generosity of Cimon at first gave him a decided advantage over his poorer rival; but Pericles contrived to be generous at



the public expense; he introduced laws for pensioning poor citizens, distributing to them the conquered lands, and paying those who acted as jurors in the courts, or who attended the public festivals and assemblies. By these means he obtained such influence as to procure the banishment of his rivals Cimon and Thucydides, and was left to manage Athens at his pleasure.

In many respects the administration of Pericles deserves the highest praise; he sought no advantages for himself, and made no effort to enlarge his private fortune: by the exercise of very strict frugality he made his limited income sufficient for his current expenses, and he neither sought nor coveted anything more. His great aim was to increase the influence and the glory of Athens, but to effect this object he frequently adopted means whose justice and policy were equally questionable. The maritime supremacy of the Athenians had been established by the Persian wars; Pericles resolved to extend this into an actual sovereignty over the Grecian islands and the commercial states on the Ægean sea. For a time he succeeded; and when he thought that Athens had sufficient strength to defy remonstrance, he applied the funds raised by the maritime states for the maintenance of the Persian war, to beautify and adorn his native city. It was the peculiar felicity of Pericles to find Athens not only provided with all the materials of art, but with artists capable of employing them to the best advantage. The most celebrated of these was the sculptor Phidias, under whose superintendence most of those buildings which render Athenian art so illustrious were erected. Within fifteen years he completed the Odeum, or musical theatre; the Parthenon, or Temple of Minerva; and the Propylæa, or magnificent porch leading from the lower city to the Acro-

polis or citadel. At the same time the Poecile, or painted piazza, was finished by Polygnotus and Myron: its front and ceiling were of the finest marble, while its walls were covered with splendid paintings of the most illustrious events in Grecian history, and especially the recent triumphs over the Persians. In short, the whole extent of the Acropolis, a circumference of nearly six miles, was so richly adorned with works of statuary and painting, that it became one continued scene of beauty and elegance. The Parthenon was, however, preeminent over all the other buildings in beauty and magnificence; even at this day its majestic ruins, defaced more by barbarians than by time, are universally regarded as the noblest piece of architecture in the world.

The envy which the brilliant administration of Pericles caused throughout Greece, encouraged some of his malignant countrymen to attempt his overthrow; but fearing that a direct attack might fail, they resolved to wound him through the sides of his friends. A prosecution for impiety was commenced against the philosopher Anaxagoras, because his astronomical discoveries could not be reconciled with the vulgar creed; and he was forced to seek safety in flight. Phidias was accused of having embezzled some of the gold with which he had been entrusted for the embellishment of the Parthenon, and though he completely proved his innocence, he was allowed to end his days in prison. These attacks were merely the prelude to the impeachment of Pericles himself, when an unforeseen event revived his popular favour, and established his authority on a firmer basis.

The island of Corcyra had been for many years a dependent colony of the Corinthians, who had secured its allegiance by supporting the supremacy of the nobility. The popular party of the Coreyreans resolved to make a

vigorous effort for the establishment both of democratic power and national independence; and their designs were secretly encouraged by the Athenians. Corcyra was soon distracted by all the horrors of civil war, and the most atrocious cruelties were practised by the rival partisans of Corinth and Athens. While this contest was raging, another Corinthian colony occasioned fresh hostilities; the city of Potidæa, in Thrace, had some years before transferred its friendship from Corinth to Athens; but the Athenians, becoming suspicious of the faith of their new allies, insisted that they should demolish their walls, and expel certain of their magistrates. Indignant at such a demand, the Potidæans returned a peremptory refusal, and the Athenians immediately laid siege to their city. The Potidæans immediately applied to the Corinthians for protection, and they again appealed to the Spartans as the head of the Peloponnesian states. The Spartans had been long jealous of the growing power of the Athenians, and eager to embrace some opportunity of diminishing its influence, they passed a resolution declaring that the Athenians had violated national treaties, and that ambassadors should be sent to demand restitution in the name of the confederate states of the Peloponnesus. The demands of the Spartans were rejected through the influence of Pericles, and both sides began to prepare for war. Such was the commencement of the great Peloponnesian war, which lasted seven-and-twenty years, and prepared the way for the total subversion of Grecian independence.

In the first campaign, the Spartans and their allies invaded Attica with overwhelming forces; the inhabitants, unable to resist them in the field, retired within the walls of Athens, while their habitations were burned and their farms plundered by the enemy. Pericles, on

the other hand, fitted out a large fleet, which ravaged the coasts of the Peloponnesus, and spread terror through all the allies of Sparta. Similar indecisive expeditions were undertaken in the following year, but towards its close a worse enemy than the Spartans assailed Athens; this was the plague, which broke out with a virulence scarcely to be paralleled in history. A merchant-ship brought the contagion into the Peiræus, whence it spread to the city, and raged virulently through the dense population that had come thither from the country to escape the ravages of the Spartans. In the commencement of this dreadful calamity, many sublime examples of filial piety and generous friendship were displayed, but as they frequently proved fatal to the actors, they were but rarely repeated. Callous insensibility began to prevail in all ranks of society, and this was followed by the most abandoned profligacy. "To beings of an hour, the dread of punishment formed no restraint; to victims of misery, conscience presented no terrors." While the city was thus ravaged by disease, the country was laid waste by the enemy, and the expeditions undertaken to avenge the injury, had all a fatal termination.

Nothing but conscious wisdom and rectitude could have supported Pericles under such a complication of calamities. Domestic misfortunes were added to his other sufferings; one by one his numerous family fell victims to the raging pestilence, but he bore the losses with heroic fortitude, until at the funeral of his last child he burst into a passion of tears. The disasters of the war led the Athenians to desire peace; but Pericles dissuaded them from making the disgraceful sacrifices required by the triumphant Peloponnesians. The fortitude of Pericles roused the fainting courage of the

Republic; but before his counsels could be put in practice he fell a victim to the malignant pestilence. The bed of the dying statesman was surrounded by his numerous admirers, who spoke of the various exploits and triumphs that had adorned his brilliant career. "You forget," said he, "the only valuable part of my character, that no action of mine ever caused a fellow citizen to wear a mourning robe." \*

Pericles died in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, and the glory of Athens expired with him.

### AGESILAUS.

BORN B. C. 444—DIED B. C. 361.

THE jealousy of Athenian supremacy had induced the minor states of Greece to join with the Spartans in the subversion of that power; but when the allies came to reflect on their triumph, they found that they had forged for themselves more grievous chains, and established a severer tyranny. Rarely indeed has the world witnessed a government so cruel to its subjects, so treacherous to its allies, so profligately faithless to all its engagements as that of Sparta. Despotic at home, unprincipled abroad, legalizing assassination internally, and justifying perfidy in its external relations, we may well be surprised at the monstrous folly that aided in establishing its preeminence, and the slavish submission yielded to its sway. Lysander, the conqueror of Athens, enjoyed the character of surpassing all his countrymen in every attribute that could make him the scourge and curse of his kind; crafty yet daring, a subtle politician, and a brave soldier; a professed scorner of all moral principle, yet a careful observer of all religious ordinances, he seemed fitted by nature to rule over such a

state as Sparta. . But the immutable laws of the regal succession presented an insurmountable barrier to his ambition, and he therefore resolved to reign by his creature since he could not in person. With this design, after the death of Agis, he procured the deposition of Leotychides, under pretence of illegitimacy, and transferred the crown to Agesilaus, the brother of the deceased monarch.

Agesilaus was of a diminutive and ignoble form ; his appearance was indicative of any thing rather than wisdom or valour ; but under this coarse exterior was concealed a mind fraught with abilities of the very highest order. He had been the pupil of Lysander, and had been so apt in learning his lessons of craft and subtilty, that he not only rivalled but surpassed his master. After having raised his pupil to the throne, Lysander procured for him the command of the allied Greeks which had been sent into Asia to humble the Persian power ; and accompanied the new king to the seat of war, hoping to act as his secret director. To his utter astonishment, Lysander discovered that he had been over-reached ; Agesilaus, by a series of intrigues and artifices, deprived his benefactor of power, and at length sent him to a distant command, which was virtually a banishment. Disappointed and disgusted, Lysander returned home, where in revenge he formed one of the most extraordinary plots recorded in history.

The particulars of this curious project were found in a memoir among Lysander's papers, after his death, and they illustrate the use to which superstition may be turned by a bold, bad man. The right of the crown in Sparta was strictly limited to two families of the Heraclidæ : Lysander resolved to throw the dignity open to all the Spartans ; and, as this could not be done by force,

he had recourse to imposture. A report was circulated, that a woman of Pontus had brought forth a son, of which Apello was the father, and that the miraculous birth had been acknowledged by the chiefs of that nation. Lysander professed to be perfectly convinced of the truth of this prodigy. He employed persons to remind the people constantly of the miraculous child, and bribed the priests at Delphi to sanction his pretensions. It was arranged, that the impostor, whose name was Silenus, should present himself in the temple of Delphi, and offer the proofs of his divine descent to the ministers of Apollo. The priests, on the other hand, were to go through a formal investigation, and then, pretending to be convinced by the evidence, they were to call on him, as the son of the god, to interpret their collection of oracles. In this collection an oracle had been inserted, in which it was declared, that the gods willed the Spartans to elect their sovereign, for the future, from among the most virtuous of their citizens. But the project failed at the very moment that it was ripe for execution. Some of the principal actors became alarmed at the danger of detection, and refused to proceed: Lysander, in despair, sought the command of a trifling expedition, and suffered himself to be slain in the first skirmish.

Agésilas pursued his victorious career in Asia unchecked by any interference from the Government at home; for he had craftily secured the Ephori in his favour, by pretending the most abject submission to their will. But his victories and conquests proved the source of misfortunes to his country, since each new triumph only displayed more conspicuously the ambition, the selfishness, and the cruelty of the Spartans.

Agesilaus also committed an error of more importance ; he deprived Pharaoh of the command of the fleet, which he had managed with equal wisdom and valour, and he appointed as admiral his creature Pisander, whose subserviency compensated for his want of abilities. Before the effects of this favouritism could be made manifest, Agesilaus was recalled to quell the revolt in Greece, where the states, weary of Spartan tyranny, were preparing to assert their independence. The Thebans were the first in the field, and had already obtained an important victory at Haliartus.

Agesilaus, having led his forces across the Hellespont, rapidly advanced through Thrace and Thessaly to attack the Thebans ; but on his road learned the intelligence of the destruction of the Spartan navy, through the rashness of Pisander. He had encountered at Cnidus the navy of Persia, with which Conon, the Athenian, had united several squadrons from the Greek islands, and had lost his life and his fleet. Agesilaus concealed part of the news from his soldiers : he told them of the death of Pisander, but declared that the Spartans had won the victory, and ordered a public thanksgiving for their success. Soon after, the Thebans engaged Agesilaus at Coronæ : the battle was long and doubtful, but the Spartans retaining possession of the field, claimed the honours of a triumph. A desultory warfare of eight years produced no decided result. Conon, who still held a command in the Persian fleet, directed all his efforts to retrieve the power of Athens, and he soon raised it to a state of comparative importance. Nothing surprised and alarmed the Spartans so much as the revival of their ancient rival. In the hope of destroying again the Athenian influence, they



resolved to sacrifice to the Persian despot the liberty of the Greek cities in Asia, and to make peace at the dictation of the great enemy of the Grecian name.

With this design they sent Antalcidas as an ambassador to the Persian court: his intrigues procured the murder of Conon, and his bribes brought over to the Spartan side many of the councillors of Artaxerxes. It was not, however, very easy to bring the King to trust in Spartan faith: but his mind was changed by the impolitic conduct of the Athenians, who assisted the revolvers in Cyprus while they were soliciting aid in Susa. Terms of peace were dictated by Artaxerxes, at the suggestion of Antalcidas, and the enforcement of the articles was entrusted to the joint forces of Sparta and Persia. And thus did Sparta, to gratify paltry and selfish ambition, meanly sacrifice the glories of Thermopylæ and Plataea, and permit an eastern despot to dismember the dependencies and control the domestic arrangements of a people that had given law to his ancestors.

Supported by the Persian gold and power, the Spartans had now attained their great object—the supremacy of Greece. The mode in which they exercised their authority was as tyrannical as the means by which it was acquired were infamous. Regardless of the faith of treaties, they dismantled Mantinæa, and compelled its wretched inhabitants to assist in the destruction of their own houses; and, without any provocation, they commenced war against the Olynthians, of whose rising fortunes they were jealous. An act of still greater perfidy was the seizure of the Theban citadel while its gates were open and unguarded during the solemnity of a religious festival. Phæbidas, who led the Spartans to this atrocious enterprise, had no sooner secured the

fortress, than he seized as prisoners some of the leading patriots among the Thebans, and compelled the rest to seek safety in flight.

Even among the Spartans there were some who had the grace to be ashamed of such monstrous turpitude; but Agesilaus was not of the number: he appeared as the public defender of Phœbidas, and persuaded his countrymen to sanction the deed, by retaining possession of the Theban citadel.

During five years the Spartans remained masters of Thebes, and subjected the patriotic citizens to the most cruel persecutions. At length, a few of the exiles by an unexpected enterprise made themselves masters of the city, and being instantly aided by an Athenian army, laid siege to the citadel. The Spartan garrison soon capitulated, and with mean perfidy stipulated only for their own safety, leaving their Theban adherents to the just vengeance of their countrymen.

The Thebans perhaps might have been unable to cope with Sparta in the fullness of its power; but another attempt at unprincipled aggression, probably suggested, but certainly approved by Agesilaus, gave them the zealous aid of the Athenians. Sphodrias, a Spartan leader, made a secret march to seize the Peiræus, or port of Athens, though the treaties between Athens and Sparta had been recently renewed; but accident revealed the expedition to the Athenians, and Sphodrias was forced to retire with disgrace.

The Spartans could not refuse to bring Sphodrias to trial for this monstrous violation of solemn treaties; but the trial was a mere mockery of justice; Agesilaus and his son Archidamus, the king and the first prince of the blood, pleaded his cause, and he was allowed to escape with impunity.

Agesilaus repeatedly invaded Bœotia without performing any service worthy of his former fame; the Thebans and Athenians, though with inferior forces, by confining themselves to a defensive system, baffled all his efforts. The Spartans advancing to force an engagement, Chabrias, the Athenian general, ordered his men to execute a movement which he had previously taught them. Each soldier supported his advanced body on his left knee, held his shield so as to cover his person, and extended his spear. Thus they formed a serried line which it was impossible to penetrate. Agesilaus, baffled by this simple manœuvre, was compelled to retire. In several subsequent skirmishes, the Thebans were victorious; and at Tegyra the Spartans were defeated by far inferior forces, a disgrace which is said never to have befallen them in any previous engagement. At sea the success of the allies was still more decisive, and the Spartan navy was finally annihilated by Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus, the Athenian admirals.

A general assembly of the Grecian states was held for the purpose of restoring peace to the community. Agesilaus appeared for the Spartans, and for the first time met a rival, or rather a superior statesman, in the celebrated Epaminondas, who attended as the Theban representative. The Athenian deputies signed for their state and the cities of Attica; the Lacedæmonian monarch signed for Sparta and its dependencies in Laconia and Messenia; Epaminondas therefore claimed to be received as the representative of the Bœotian cities. This demand irritated the Spartans; forgetting their boasted brevity, and quitting the laconic style, to which they have given their name, they launched out into violent invectives against the Thebans. To these ha-

rangues, Epaminondas replied with cool sarcasm, "You will at least allow that we have made you lengthen your monosyllables." He then calmly stated the justice and equity of the Theban claims so forcibly, that Agesilaus began to dread its effects upon the assembly. With irrepressible wrath, he exclaimed, "Does it appear to you just and reasonable to grant independence to the cities of Bœotia?" Epaminondas temperately asked in his turn, "Do you think it just and reasonable to grant independence to the cities of Laconia?" Agesilaus, inflamed with passion, again demanded "Shall the cities of Bœotia be free?" Epaminondas replied, "Shall the cities of Laconia be so?" Agesilaus in a fury dashed the name of the Thebans from the treaty, and the assembly separated.

There was still room for negotiation, but the wounded pride of the Spartans hurried them into war, and their king Cleombrotus was ordered to invade Bœotia. At the fatal field of Leuctra he fell with the greater part of his forces, and the power of Sparta was irretrievably ruined. The immediate consequences of this decisive defeat were the revolts of the several Peloponnesian states, which had been hitherto subject to the tyranny of the Spartans. A Theban army was sent to their aid, and the Lacedæmonians, so lately the masters of Greece, had the mortification of seeing their own country laid waste by fire and sword; and the still more bitter reflection that the safety of Sparta itself was owing to the generous interference of the Athenians.

The state of affairs in northern Greece for a time prevented the Thebans from aiding their allies in the Peloponnesus, and Sparta during that interval partly recovered her influence in that peninsula. An opportunity was thus afforded of obtaining peace on favour-

able terms ; but this was displeasing to Agesilaus, who had commenced the war without justice, and continued it without success. His imperious pride remained unshaken, even when he lost the ally that had been purchased by the infamous peace of Antalcidas ; for the Persian king, won by the eloquence of Pelopidas, had lately renounced his alliance with Sparta. The war lingered for several years without any decisive action, until Epaminondas a second time invaded the Peloponnesus. He subdued the greater part of Achaia, and either by force or persuasion engaged on the Theban side most of the minor states in southern Greece. Agesilaus, having secured the alliance of the Athenians, was silently concentrating his forces at Mantinea, when he was surprised by a Cretan deserter of an enterprise that threatened the total ruin of his country. This was the unexpected march of Epaminondas against Sparta, now deserted by the army. By making the most extraordinary exertions, Agesilaus arrived in time to save the capital, and the death of Epaminondas soon after on the glorious plains of Mantinea, rescued Sparta from the destruction which seemed almost inevitable.

The Thebans, after the death of Epaminondas, sank into inactivity, and an attempt was made to restore peace under the auspices of the king of Persia. This effort was disconcerted by the obstinacy of Agesilaus, who still hoped to restore the supremacy of his country. In order to be revenged on the Persians, he persuaded his countrymen to send an armament to support Tachos King of Egypt, then in rebellion against that power, and though now in the eightieth year of his age, undertook the command of the expedition. On his arrival in Egypt, finding that Tachos was not willing to yield him the implicit obedience he demanded, Agesilaus joined

Nectanebus in an insurrection against the monarch he had come to support, and aided in placing Nectanebus on the throne. In this dishonourable war he acquired considerable wealth, which he probably intended to apply to the retrieval of the power of Sparta, but he died on his return, near the Cyrenaic coast, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and forty-first of his reign.

The life of Agesilaus offers little opportunity for praise; but Xenophon, the Athenian philosopher, who had been banished for bearing arms against his country's allies, has made it the theme of unmeasured eulogy, probably because he deemed the praise only just payment for the protection he received from the Spartan monarch. It is enough to say that he assumed the government when Sparta was at the summit of her greatness, and that during his reign he witnessed her gradual decay, until she sank beyond all hope of recovery. His unprincipled ambition roused the bitter enmity of the foes who thus broke down the Spartan ascendancy, and his relentless obstinacy protracted the struggle until all the resources that might have been available for a future contest were exhausted. During his administration, Sparta suffered more disasters and disgrace than she had during the seven preceding centuries; a sad example of the calamities that great powers of mind may bring upon a state if they be not guided by moral principle.

### EPAMINONDAS.

BORN B. C. 410—DIED B. C. 363.

THE means by which the Spartans made themselves masters of Thebes have been already related, but the circumstances of its liberation deserve to be told at greater length than we could afford in the preceding

chapter. The Theban exiles at Athens, having determined to make a bold effort for the deliverance of their city, were agreeably surprised by an offer of aid from Phyllidas, who had been hitherto a noted adherent of the Spartans. The means by which he had acquired the confidence of the tyrants of his country were truly disgraceful. The Spartans had at this time so far degenerated from the strict discipline of their ancestors, that they were become proverbial for their licentiousness, and Phyllidas could only acquire the confidence of Archias and Philip, who commanded the garrison in Thebes, by gratifying their depraved appetites. It was determined that Phyllidas should invite them to a banquet, and when their mirth was at its height, introduce the conspirators disguised as females, to wreak vengeance for their own wrongs, and those of their country. The exiles, disguised as peasants, arrived at Thebes in the evening, and went to the house of Charon, to wait for the appointed signal of action.

In the mean time Archias, Philip, and the other Spartan officers, had assembled at the house of Phyllidas, and were enjoying the festivities of his luxurious board, unconscious of the danger which was now at hand. Two warnings were conveyed to them in vain; they were told that suspicious strangers had arrived at the house of Charon, and they instantly summoned that nobleman before them. But his well-affected surprise, and the whisper of Phyllidas, "that the report was probably circulated to disturb their festivities," removed suspicion, and the feast was resumed. In a few moments after, a special messenger arrived from Athens, and presented Archias with a letter containing a full account of the conspiracy. "Business to-morrow," said the reckless drunkard, as he thrust the letter unread beneath

his pillow. But that *to-morrow* he was doomed never to behold. The messenger had scarcely retired, when the conspirators entered, and Archias with his brother rioters fell beneath their daggers.

Scarcely had the Thebans recovered their liberty, when they found themselves exposed to the vengeance of the Spartans, and were forced to act on the defensive against fearful odds. In their distress they sought for a leader who might guide them through their perils, and they found one neither in the soldier's camp, nor the statesman's cabinet, but in the quiet schools of the philosophers. Epaminondas, who was thus honourably called from his retirement, had reached the middle age of life, in the cultivation of those tranquil studies recommended by the Pythagorean philosophy, in which he had been instructed. Inferior to his colleague Pelopidas in exterior accomplishments and martial fame, he far surpassed not only him but all his contemporaries in mental qualifications. It is no small praise to these illustrious men, that though naturally regarded as rivals, they never exhibited any jealousy or envy, but laboured zealously together for the good of their common country.

When Agesilaus, enraged at the result of the conference in which Epaminondas had so temperately and successfully exposed the ambitious and selfish policy of Sparta, sent Cleombrotus to ravage Bœotia, the Thebans conferred the chief command on Epaminondas, and sent Pelopidas as one of his inferior colleagues. The fame of Sparta was then at its height, and the Thebans dreaded to encounter their former masters in the field. As is usual on such occasions, reports of unfavourable omens and prodigies were circulated; fear gave strength to superstition, and even the colleagues of Epaminondas shared the general panic. He had, however, firmly re-



solved on an engagement, because he had formed a plan of battle which ensured victory. To his officers he repeated the well-known verse of Homer :

“ ——— His sword the brave man draws,  
And asks no omen but his country's cause.”

At the same time he counteracted the superstitious dread of his soldiers, by circulating among them reports of encouraging portents, and favourable oracles. Having made these preparations, he marched to encounter Cleombrotus at Leuctra.

This battle, one of the most important in Grecian history, changed the entire face of Grecian politics, and produced a complete revolution in the system of military tactics. Cleombrotus formed his soldiers in a crescent, extending his lines over a wide space, in order to take advantage of his vast superiority of forces. He placed himself in the right wing, at the head of the Spartan phalanx, and formed his left and centre of the allied troops. Epaminondas knew that few of the Spartan allies were hearty in the cause, and consequently, that the defeat of the enemy's right wing would be sufficient to decide the victory. He therefore placed the great strength of his forces in his left wing, while the lines of his right and centre sloped obliquely away from the enemy, and were weak in proportion to their distance. By this arrangement, he expected that the victory would be gained by his left division before the enemy could bring his right to an engagement. The event justified his expectations. The Theban cavalry drove that of the Lacedæmonians back upon the infantry, and threw their ranks into some confusion. Epaminondas, with his phalanx formed in a wedge-like shape, bore down upon the disordered lines, and broke through them with resistless weight. Every thing that

individual valour could effect to retrieve the day, Cleombrotus and his warriors performed: but all was in vain: courage alone could not resist the union of courage and skill. They fell beneath the Theban swords. The principal strength of the allies had not yet engaged, and Epaminondas formed his lines anew, to resist the left and centre of his opponents. But, disheartened by the fall of Cleombrotus, and by no means anxious for a victory that would serve only to rivet their own chains, they deliberately retreated from the field, and Epaminondas had the gratification of seeing that the independence of his country and the liberation of Greece from Spartan tyranny was accomplished.

Little more than two years after the battle of Leuctra, Sparta had lost, not only her supremacy in northern Greece, but even within the Peloponnesus. Epaminondas and Pelopidas were sent to aid the revolted states; and so complete was their success, that Sparta itself would have fallen, but for the timely interference of the Athenians. The Messenians, whose persecution by the Spartans is a conspicuous example of profligate cruelty, even in the history of that people, were restored to their country by Epaminondas, and enabled both to rebuild and fortify their city.

After their return home, Pelopidas and Epaminondas were, by the malice of their enemies, brought to trial, for having protracted their command beyond the time limited by law. Pelopidas, on this occasion, displayed less fortitude than might have been expected from so brave a soldier. He was acquitted, but not without difficulty, and owed his safety to the compassion rather than the respect of his judges. On the contrary, Epaminondas appeared before the tribunal more like the accuser than the accused. He proudly enumerated his

services, and challenged his enemies to pronounce a sentence of condemnation, which was sure of being reversed by the unanimous verdict of posterity. The envious factions were overawed, and Epaminondas returned home as triumphantly from the court as he had from the field of Leuctra. His disappointed enemies soon after contrived to have him elected public scavenger: Epaminondas immediately undertook the office, declaring, that "The place did not confer dignity on the man, but the man on the place," and baffled their malice by the efficient manner in which he discharged the duties of the unworthy situation.

Nor was this the only instance of the ingratitude and injustice with which Epaminondas was treated by his countrymen. His failure at the siege of Corinth, which was defended by the Athenian Chabrias, so displeased a people rendered insolent by repeated successes, that they deprived him of the command, and allowed him long to remain undistinguished in the rank of a private citizen.

During this period, the gallant Pelopidas fell a victim to his own impetuosity, and the hopes of Thebes centered in Epaminondas alone. The state of the Peloponnesus began to attract general attention, and the expediency of preventing Sparta from resuming its ancient superiority became manifest. Epaminondas was appointed to lead the army which the Thebans resolved to send into southern Greece; and his high character led the allies to send their contingents with unusual readiness. Agesilaus, being joined by the Athenians, was engaged in collecting the remainder of the Spartan allies, when, as we have already related, Epaminondas made a sudden rush upon Sparta itself. When this effort failed, Epaminondas resolved to make a similar attempt on Mantinea; but his soldiers had scarcely

appeared before the town, when they were attacked and defeated by a body of Athenians, who had arrived that very day. Epaminondas, thus baffled, determined to efface the memory of his failure by some decisive stroke, and force the enemy to a general engagement.

The measures adopted by Epaminondas evince the highest military talent. His column of march was so arranged, that by merely wheeling into line, the soldiers would stand in their order of battle: and by leading his men through a circuitous route, he both gained an opportunity of repeating his tactics of Leuctra, and he kept the enemy in doubt respecting his intentions. So completely, indeed, were the Spartans and their allies deceived, that they unbridled their horses and unbuckled their armour, believing that Epaminondas was resolved to defer the engagement. When the Thebans suddenly advanced, no little confusion spread through the hostile ranks, and the lines were but imperfectly formed when assailed by the wedge-like phalanx. As at Leuctra, Epaminondas broke through the array of his opponents; but at the very moment when victory seemed certain, he fell by a mortal wound. The Thebans, deprived of their leader, knew not how to improve their advantages: the phalanx halted, and gave the Spartans time to rally; the cavalry, advancing too far in pursuit, left the light infantry exposed to the Athenian horse; and a detachment of Eubœans left to guard the rear, was cut to pieces by a body of Athenian infantry. So indecisive was the result of this battle, that both parties began to erect trophies; and the only proof of the Theban victory was, that the Spartans first asked permission to bury their dead.

In the mean time, Epaminondas had been borne to a little eminence, which commanded a view of the field:

his body had been pierced by a javelin, and the surgeons declared that he could not survive its extraction. When the tumult of the battle was over, the most distinguished Thebans gathered round the dying warrior. He eagerly inquired after his shield, the loss of which was deemed a most signal disgrace in ancient times; and when it was brought, he surveyed it with melancholy joy. He inquired the fate of the day, and being told that the Thebans were victorious, declared, that he died happy, since he left his country triumphant. Some of his friends lamented that he should die without children, who might perpetuate his name and inherit the glory of his virtues. "I leave behind me," he replied, "two fair daughters—the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, who will transmit my fame to remote posterity." Soon after, the javelin was extracted, and he instantly expired. \*

With Epaminondas began and ended the glory of Thebes. The commanding influence which that state had acquired, for the first time, during his administration, fell by a gradual but rapid decay, and in less than ten years had wholly disappeared. Historians generally describe Epaminondas as a perfect character; and it must be confessed, that he rose superior to most of the heroes of antiquity. But we must regret, that in his life are to be found several instances in which he allowed zeal for the interests of his country to seduce him into acts of cruelty and injustice. There is, however, no one whose career shows more powerfully the blessings that "the creed of mercy and faith of love" taught by our blessed Lord, has conferred on mankind; because his life shows how inefficient were the principles of pagan virtue and heathen philosophy to restrain even the best and most sincere of their followers.

Epaminondas was buried where he fell. His monument was regarded with such reverence four centuries after his death, that the Emperor Adrian ordered a column to be erected near the tomb, thus showing that he revered the virtuous character which he had not sufficient strength of mind to imitate.

### ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

AFTER the death of Epaminondas, and the decline of the Theban power, a remarkable change became manifest in the politics of Greece. The states, weary of the bloody contests for supremacy that had so long continued, tacitly acquiesced in a system which left Sparta at the head of the Peloponnesian states, Thebes the mistress of Bœotia, and Athens the chief of the maritime cities. The internal policy of the several cities was also modified: many openly protested against the continuance of the factious struggles between the partisans of aristocracy and democracy. They wished to see a confederacy of all the Greeks, united under one common head, directing its strength against the power of Persia. Affairs were in this condition when Philip ascended the throne of Macedon: overcome by the solicitations of the Macedonian people, who felt that nothing but a vigorous head could save a nation distracted by faction, and assailed by powerful enemies. The abilities of Philip were of the highest order, but unfortunately, they were slightly controlled by moral principle. He succeeded in subjecting Greece to the Macedonian power; but his success was owing more to his arts of deception, bribery, and fraud, than to his military skill or political wisdom.

Philip was already a monarch of great power and

greater influence when his son Alexander was born. On the same day that he heard the news of his birth, he received intelligence of a prize won by his horses at the Olympic Games, of a victory obtained by his general Parmenio over the Illyrians, and of the capture of Potidæa, a city that had long resisted his arms. In a later period it was remarked, that on the same day the splendid temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was burned to the ground. These coincidences were sufficiently remarkable to lead many, in a superstitious age, to assert, that destiny had marked the new-born infant for great events: and Alexander was thus induced, from his infancy, to regard himself as a person born to achieve mighty things.

Convinced that a good education is the best gift that a father, in any situation of life, can bestow upon his child, Philip spared neither pains nor expense to procure the best instructors for his son; and he had no sooner reached his fifteenth year, than he placed him under the care of Aristotle, the most celebrated of the Grecian philosophers. During the five following years Alexander diligently attended to the instructions of his master, and showed, during the remainder of his brilliant career, how well he had profited by his instructions. But towards the close of that period some circumstances occurred which produced an important effect on his fortunes, and subjected his character to much unmerited obloquy. A plurality of wives was allowed to the monarch of Macedon; but one of the number was generally allowed privileges superior to the rest, and alone ranked as queen. Olympias, the mother of Alexander, had long held this envied station; but, on the marriage of Philip with Cleopatra, a younger and more beautiful woman, Olympias began to fear that her

dignity would be transferred to another, and Alexander had reason to dread that some change was designed in the succession. These events became the fruitful sources of strife in the royal family. A reconciliation was effected by the interference of mutual friends; but Philip was soon after assassinated.

There is no evidence that Alexander participated in his father's murder: on the contrary, we know that he put to death some of the accomplices of the assassin. But there are strong grounds for believing that Olympias was accessory to the crime. Philip fell at the moment when all his vast designs were on the point of receiving their completion. He had successively humbled all the rival states, and was about to lead the army of the united Greeks against the Persians. His son was the heir both of his power and his projects, and immediately prepared to execute the mighty plans that Philip had formed. But numerous difficulties were to be subdued before Alexander could venture to cross the Hellespont. The barbarous nations, north of Macedonia were eager to avenge their former defeats, and hoped easily to vanquish a youthful sovereign. In all the states of Greece a strong party existed opposed to the Macedonian power, and anxious to re-assert the former independence of the several republics. The former was the more pressing danger, and Alexander prepared to avert it by promptitude. He entered Thrace, and penetrated even to the Danube, completely subduing every nation that attempted to check his progress. In a space of time so brief as to be scarcely credible, he subdued all the tribes between the Strymon and the Danube: he even passed the latter river, and gained a brilliant victory over the Getæ. But while thus engaged in the north, the conspiracy against the Macedonian power in



southern Greece suddenly exploded, and Thebes, in an evil hour, gave the first signal of revolt. Demosthenes, the celebrated Athenian orator, had been one of the chief instigators of this rash war, and, to induce both his own countrymen and the Thebans to take arms, he did not hesitate to circulate a false report of Alexander's death. When intelligence of these events reached the young monarch, he determined to crush the evil in the bud, and marched with such expedition, that his appearance before the gates of Thebes gave the first notice of his approach. The unfortunate city was taken by storm, and subjected to all the horrors that the fury of the victors could inflict. In the Macedonian army were many natives of the Bœotian states, which Thebes had treated with remorseless cruelty in the hour of her prosperity. They now exacted the heavy debt of vengeance; they spared neither sex nor age, the child and the maiden shared the fate of the warrior that refused quarter, and the slaughter did not cease until the victors sank from utter weariness. In this indiscriminate massacre, the descendants of the poet Pindar were spared by the command of the monarch, who thus showed his respect for literature while he outraged the dictates of humanity.

The surviving Thebans might have envied the fate of their murdered countrymen; they were ordered to be sold as slaves, and their entire city, with the single exception of Pindar's house, was levelled to the ground. It would be impossible to describe the consternation that the destruction of Thebes spread through all the Grecian states. The Athenians were justly the most alarmed, because they had been the most guilty, and they instantly sent an embassy to deprecate the wrath of the conqueror. Alexander had learned the horror

that his cruelty to the Thebans inspired, and resolved to efface this stain from his character by future clemency. He offered pardon to the Athenians on condition of their surrendering eight of their principal orators; he did not even insist on this, but contented himself with procuring the banishment of Charidemus. Thus in the course of a single campaign did Alexander subdue Thrace, Illyria, and southern Greece, and secure the tranquillity of his European dominions while he should be engaged in the conquest of Asia.

In the spring of the year 334 B. C. found Alexander to attempt the conquest of an empire with forces insufficient to garrison one of its provinces. He crossed the Hellespont with an army of about thirty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, and landed on the coast which tradition declared to have been the site of ancient Troy. The youthful monarch was an ardent admirer of the Homeric poems, and he dedicated his love for the Iliad by celebrating games in honour of all its heroes. The Persian satraps had been taken by surprise; no preparations were made to resist the invader, and when at length the provincial governors began to assemble their troops, the death of Mentor, their best leader, threw them into confusion. On this account, Alexander was permitted to march without resistance as far as the Granicus, but he found the left bank of the river occupied by a hostile army. The Persians were infinitely more numerous than the Macedonians, their cavalry alone amounted to twenty thousand; they had also the advantage of a strong position, and a river, swollen by the melting of the winter snow, protected their front. Yet under these circumstances Alexander did not hesitate for a moment; hastily forming his lines, he placed himself at the head

of the right wing, and ordered his soldiers to ford the stream. The battle was brief but decisive ; for a short space the Persian cavalry fought bravely, and Alexander himself would have fallen, had not his friend Clitus hurried to his aid ; but the lines were soon broken by the weight of the Grecian lances, the several satraps began to act independently, and thus threw their army into utter confusion. The want of a commander-in-chief was the chief cause of this battle's having been gained so easily, but it is only justice to add, that from the valour and skill of Alexander, it could scarcely under any circumstances have had a different issue. The immediate consequences of this victory was the submission of the chief provinces in western Asia ; most of the cities surrendered without a struggle ; Miletus was taken by assault, and Halicarnassus, after sustaining a brief siege, was abandoned by its garrison. Even winter could not quite subdue the vigour of Alexander ; after the usual time of the campaign had passed, he subdued Phrygia, and made Gordium, its capital, his head-quarters.

In the citadel of Gordium was preserved the cart of Gordius, the first Phrygian king ; the yoke was tied to the pole by a band formed of a strip of bark, and an oracle declared that he who could untie the knot should rule over Asia. Alexander is said to have cut it through with his sword, and to have been hailed by the priests as the predicted conqueror.

The next campaign was opened by the reduction of Cappadocia, where little resistance was made. The Paphlagonians tendered their submission on condition of not receiving any garrisons, and their offer was accepted. Alexander next advanced into Cilicia, over the rugged chain of mount Taurus. While the army was on its march, intelligence was received of the design

of the Cilician satrap to burn Tarsus his capital: to prevent such a catastrophe, the king pushed forward with his cavalry, and arrived just in time to save the city from destruction. But this enterprise had nearly proved fatal to Alexander; overpowered by the heat, he sought relief by bathing in the Cydnus; its chill waters produced such a reaction that he was instantly seized with a fever of peculiar malignancy and violence. Philip, the king's friend and physician, prepared a medicinal draught, and brought it to the monarch just as he had received a letter informing him that Philip had been bribed by the Persians. Alexander, with noble confidence, raised the draught to his lips and drank it to the dregs, at the same time presenting the letter to the astonished physician. Such generous confidence had its due reward; in a few days Alexander was enabled to appear again at the head of his army. So vigorous were his renewed exertions, that all Asia Minor was subdued before the end of the summer. •

Alexander next advanced through the mountain passes called the Gates, which separate Asia Minor from Syria, when he was astounded to hear that the Persian army under their king Darius, of which he was going in quest, was actually in his rear. The impatience that induced Darius to advance into a mountainous country, where his immense superiority of forces was an incumbrance rather than an advantage, proved fatal to his cause. Alexander, at the head of his right wing, penetrated and broke the enemies' left; Darius, who commanded that division, became alarmed and fled; his household troops followed the disgraceful example. Alexander, instead of pursuing his advantages, hastened to relieve his divisions in the left and centre, which were severely pressed by their opponents; the struggle in

this part of the field would have been long and dangerous, had not the Persian cavalry in the very moment of success learned the flight of their monarch, when, according to the usage of the Asiatics, they instantly abandoned the contest. Such was the issue of the battle of Issus, which gave Alexander the whole of western Asia.

The retreat of the Persians was much more disastrous than the battle; the Persians had to make their escape through narrow defiles, where they soon got entangled and were trampled down by their own horsemen. The unfortunate Darius fled with so much precipitation, that he left his chariot, arms, and royal robes behind him, and his wife and daughters remained prisoners in the hands of the enemy.

Nothing is more creditable to Alexander's character than his generous conduct to the royal captives; he sent a message to comfort them, and inform them that Darius had escaped; he directed that they should be allowed to retain their state, ornaments, and titles; and he forbore from visiting them, lest their beauty should prove too powerful for his virtuous resolutions. Soon after, an ambassador arrived from Darius with offers of peace, which Alexander rejected with courteous firmness. Advancing from the glorious field of Issus, through Syria and Phœnicia, the conqueror encountered no opposition until he reached Tyre. The inhabitants of that ancient city refused to admit a garrison, and Alexander instantly ordered it to be besieged. The possession of Tyre was absolutely necessary to the success of his future efforts, for it was only by cutting off the Persians from all communication with the sea, that he could prevent them from exciting a war in Greece. After a long and tedious siege, which lasted from December to June,

the city was taken ; but the victor sullied his glory by the cruelty with which he treated the unfortunate inhabitants.

The city of Gaza was next besieged, and the defence was as obstinate as the attack was vigorous. In the course of the siege Alexander received a severe wound, and long felt its effects. Finally the city was taken by storm, and the garrison, sternly refusing quarter, were all put to the sword.

The Jews, grateful for the benefits they had received from Cyrus, were among the most faithful subjects of the Persian monarch ; a reason quite sufficient to induce the Samaritans to be foremost in revolting to the Macedonians. Alexander advanced towards Jerusalem to punish the obstinacy of the Jews, but was met on the road by the High Priest Jaddua, at the head of a deputation, to deprecate his wrath. Alexander prostrated himself before THE HOLY NAME inscribed on the High Priest's diadem, and declared to his wondering attendants, that while yet in Macedonia, he had seen in a vision a similar figure inviting him to undertake the conquest of Asia. The High Priest then showed the king the prophecy of Daniel, which predicted that a Greek should overthrow the Persian empire ; and Alexander, believing himself the person thus designated, received the Jewish people under his protection.

From Palestine Alexander marched into Egypt, which he easily subdued, and having made the most prudent provisions for the civil and military government of his new province, advanced into the Ammonian Oasis. This "island of the desert" was a small fertile district in the midst of the wild wastes of sand that bound the north-west of Egypt. Superstition added strange stories to the account of its natural wonders, and the shrine of

Jupiter Ammon, which it contained, was the most celebrated oracle of the ancient world. Many wild fictions were subsequently related respecting this visit; among others the oracle was said to have declared that Alexander was the son not of Philip, but of Ammon. Alexander appears to have encouraged this ridiculous report, which gratified his vanity, and perhaps facilitated his conquests.

In the following year intelligence was received that Darius was concentrating the forces of his empire near Babylon, and Alexander advanced through Asia to decide the fate of empire. No resistance was made to the Macedonians at the passage of the Euphrates, nor do they appear to have encountered any resistance in Mesopotamia; it was not until after they had passed the Tigris that they found themselves in the presence of an enemy.

Determined to avoid the error that had proved so fatal at Issus, Darius had chosen his position with considerable skill in the plains of Arbela. His forces are said to have exceeded a million, while the Macedonians were less than fifty thousand. But the Persian army was composed of many different nations; there was no unity between its parts, and the operations of one body often impeded or prevented those of another. The battle of Arbela was won precisely as the battle of Issus. Alexander made a brilliant charge on the left centre where Darius was posted; he penetrated between it and the adjacent wing, and then attacked the royal divisions in flank. The Persians, crowded together, were unable to wheel round; they made the attempt, failed, and fell into remediless confusion. Darius, as before, was the first who fled, and after his departure, his myriads were as helpless as so many flocks of sheep before a pack of wolves.

Babylon opened its gates to the conqueror, but instead of delaying there, he commenced a vigorous pursuit of the unfortunate Darius. The fugitive prince, after undergoing many calamities, was murdered by his attendants; but Alexander avenged his death by the punishment of the assassins. The reduction of Persia and its adjacent provinces was not effected without difficulty; but the only circumstance worthy of remark here was the destruction of the magnificent city of Persepolis, to which Alexander is said to have been instigated by an Athenian courtesan.

Our limited space will not permit us to follow Alexander through his Scythian, Bactrian, and Indian campaigns; they were all successful, but while the king was thus acquiring glory as a monarch, he was losing it as a man. He began to imitate the Persian monarchs both in pride and luxury; like them he required adoration from his subjects, and like them he indulged in the wildest debauchery of intoxication. At one of the royal feasts, when all had taken too much wine, a conversation arose respecting the comparative merits of Philip and Alexander; the king began to extol his own exploits, and depreciate those of his father. Clitus, who had saved the life of Alexander at the battle of the Granicus, presuming on the king's friendship, boldly advocated Philip's claims to superiority; a circumstance which so enraged Alexander, that he seized a javelin and pierced his unfortunate friend to the heart. His horror, when he beheld the companion of his youth and the protector of his life weltering before him, produced such a revulsion in the royal mind, that Alexander would have slain himself if he had not been prevented by the attendants.

The Greeks were always remarkable for their stead-



fast adherence to their national customs ; they regarded all other nations as barbarous, and deemed that they would be degraded by the adoption of their manners. These prejudices were doubtless carried to a ridiculous excess, for it was obviously politic to conciliate the Persians, by a gradual approximation to their habits. Alexander, however, by attempting to gain the affections of the vanquished, lost the esteem of those by whose aid he had been victorious ; conspiracies were formed against his life, and the unusual crime of treason appeared in the ranks of the Macedonians. Several plots were detected, and the criminals executed ; but there is reason to fear that many innocent victims were involved in the fate of the guilty ; the philosopher Calisthenes especially is said to have been punished not for sharing in any conspiracy, but for the too great freedom of his remonstrances.

The adoption of the Persian customs was the cause of the death of Hephæstion, the beloved friend of Alexander ; he fell a victim to a fever brought on by excessive drinking. Various anecdotes are related of the extravagant grief manifested by Alexander on this occasion ; that his sorrow was excessive is beyond doubt, but that he destroyed the temple of the god of health for allowing his friend to perish, that he hanged the physician, and that he drove the hearse of the deceased, are circumstances wholly incredible. Alexander's own death followed soon after at Babylon, and from a similar cause ; he thus left to the world a fatal proof of the aphorism, that "it is easier to conquer nations than to subdue our own evil propensities." 6

There is one part of Alexander's character as a monarch which long remained unnoticed, but which deserves particular attention. He was the first con-

queror that planned extensive schemes of commerce, and discovered that the bonds of trade are the best ties by which remote nations can be connected. He erected cities and depôts along the best commercial routes between Europe and India, and their continuance for many centuries fully proves the wisdom that directed the choice of such situations. His errors have not been concealed in our brief sketch, let us also do justice to his virtues: he was in general a merciful conqueror, he lost no opportunity of advancing the interests of science, and he sought universal empire only as a means of establishing universal peace and universal happiness. Such a scheme was scarcely practicable, but it could not have been conceived but by a great and naturally benevolent mind.



ANCIENT STATUE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

## EUMENES.

BORN ABOUT B. C. 380—DIED B. C. 316.

THE death of Alexander, before he had an opportunity of consolidating the mighty empire he had founded, proved fatal to the stability of the Macedonian power. Perdikkas, to whom Alexander had given his ring, was at first permitted to assume the regency, but the other generals soon became weary of submitting to one who had been once their equal, and resolved to establish themselves as independent sovereigns. There was, however, one honourable exception to this general revolt; Eumenes strenuously exerted himself to keep the empire in its integrity, to enforce the authority of the regent, and secure their inheritance for the children of his deceased master.

Eumenes had been originally the son of a poor waggoner in the Thracian Chersonese, but he had received an excellent education, and eagerly availed himself of its advantages. The fame of the knowledge which he had acquired reached the ears of that able monarch Philip, who took him into his service, and raised him by degrees to the honourable situation of his chief secretary. Alexander continued to employ him in the same capacity; but he valued so highly the ability and integrity of Eumenes, that he treated him rather as his friend than his minister. This favour was purchased by no unworthy compliances; Eumenes did not hesitate to oppose the favourite Hephæstion, when he presumed on the strength of Alexander's affection to violate military discipline; he even opposed some plans on which Alexander was intent, because he believed the cost would far exceed the probable advantages. Neither did Alexander resent this freedom; he continued the

confidence he had reposed in his secretary to the very last hour of his life. One of the first measures of the regent was to complete the subjugation of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. Eumenes was appointed governor of these provinces; and two armies, under the command of Antigonus and Leonatus, were directed to put him in possession of them. Antigonus, who had already resolved on raising the standard of rebellion, took no notice of the letters of Perdiccas; Leonatus marched as far as Phrygia, but receiving there a letter from Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, offering him her hand, and urging him to usurp the crown, he passed over to Macedonia. Eumenes brought the first intelligence of these machinations to Perdiccas, who in return hastened with all his forces into Cappadocia, and having soon overcome all opposition, established Eumenes in the government.

The new governor successfully exerted himself to gain the affections of his subjects; foreseeing the evils that were likely to result from the turbulent disposition of the Macedonian infantry, he raised among the provincials a large body of horse, and applied himself so zealously to improve their discipline, that in a short time the new levies could compete with veterans. The necessity of these precautions soon appeared: Antigonus, Ptolemy the satrap of Egypt, Antipater the governor of Greece, and Craterus general of the army in Macedon, with some other leaders, formed a league to crush the power of Perdiccas. The regent committed the care of Asia Minor to Eumenes, and marched in person against Ptolemy, the most dangerous because the most crafty of his enemies.

Antipater and Craterus led their forces into Phrygia, where they were joined by Neoptolemus, the satrap of

Armenia, with a large body of the Macedonian infantry. But the injudicious counsels of Neoptolemus more than counterbalanced the value of his assistance; eager to depreciate the party that he had deserted, he described the army of Eumenes as an undisciplined mob, which would fly before regular troops without making any attempt at resistance. Filled with false confidence, the allies divided their forces; Antipater led one division through Syria to aid in the attack of Perdiccas, while Craterus and Neoptolemus marched against Eumenes. They found him advantageously posted in the plains near which tradition points out the site of ancient Troy. The Cappadocian cavalry commenced the engagement by a furious charge on the right wing of the Macedonian army; the regularity and rapidity of their movements, and the violence of their shock, which broke the hostile lines in an instant, showed Craterus how fatally he had been deceived by Neoptolemus; but the error was now irretrievable. After having vainly used every effort that courage and prudence could suggest to stop the progress of the victorious horse, Craterus fell severely wounded, and was trodden down undistinguished among the heaps that had been overthrown in the decisive charge. Eumenes was equally fortunate in the other parts of the field; the traitor Neoptolemus fell beneath his avenging sword, and his soldiers fled in confusion. While Eumenes was receiving the congratulations of his officers on this brilliant victory, he received information of the unfortunate fate of Craterus, and immediately hastened across the field to soothe the last moments of his former comrade. He found him in the agonies of death; he alighted from his horse, wept over him, and clasping his hand, bitterly bewailed the circumstances that had changed old friends into rivals and enemies.

But circumstances occurred in Egypt which rendered this a useless victory; Perdiccas was slain by his mutinous soldiers, forty-eight hours before the news of the battle reached his camp. The Macedonians were so enraged when they heard of the death of Craterus; that they proclaimed Eumenes a traitor, set a price upon his head, and directed that Antigonus should march with a large army against him.

Eumenes was unable to compete with Antigonus in the open field, he therefore dismissed the greater part of his forces, and with a small but brave garrison shut himself up in the hill-fortress of Nora. Antigonus closely besieged Nora, but without success; while yet before the walls he received intelligence of the death of Antipater, the Macedonian regent, and hoping that he might, by taking advantage of this event, open to himself a way to the crown, he sought an alliance with Eumenes, and strove to gain him as an assistant in his ambitious schemes. But the secretary was not to be shaken in his loyalty; he steadily rejected the tempting offers of Antigonus, and declared that while he could wield a sword, he would defend the interests of his benefactor's family.

Antipater, when dying, bequeathed the regency to his friend Polysperchon, in preference to his son Cassander, with whose dangerous intrigues he was acquainted and displeased. Cassander determined to alter this arrangement, and entered into close alliance with Antigonus, while Polysperchon formed a league with Eumenes. The forces of the regent were unsuccessful in Europe; but the abilities of Eumenes, who escaped from Nora, and once more reassembled his army, for a time rendered the contest doubtful in Asia. But though the secretary gained some important advantages, he by no means

contemplated his prospects with ardent hope. The jealousies of the officers, who deemed themselves degraded by being placed under the command of a civilian, and the frequent mutinies of the Macedonian guards, called from their silver shields the *Argyraspides*, filled him with just alarm. Before commencing his last campaign, he made his will, and destroyed all the letters he had received from persons likely to fall into the power of Antigonus. Having thus prepared for the worst, he resolved to risk a decisive engagement, whose result should determine whether the dominions of Alexander should be inherited by his children, or partitioned among his generals.

The hostile armies soon met, and the raw levies of Antigonus were soon routed by the veterans of Eumenes; but in the confusion of the charge, the light troops of the defeated army made an unexpected attack on the camp of Eumenes, and captured the baggage of the *Argyraspides*, with their wives and children. The honours of victory could not atone to the Macedonian veterans for the loss of all their plunder, and the captivity of their dearest relations. They broke out in a sudden flood of mutiny; all efforts to restrain their violence proved ineffectual; they heaped insults and reproaches on the head of their unfortunate general, and at length, at the suggestion of some ruffian more daring than the rest, delivered him bound with his own sash into the hands of the vindictive Antigonus.

Eumenes was loaded with chains, and after a brief imprisonment, assassinated. With him perished the last hopes of Alexander's family: while he lived, the several satraps, though really independent, preserved at least a nominal allegiance; but when his death had removed the last supporter of loyalty, they as-

sumed the titles and state of sovereigns. The treason of the Argyraspides was not unpunished: Antigonus was well acquainted with their seditious character, and dreaded their power; he, therefore, employed them in detachments against the barbarians, and thus gradually destroyed the veterans that had won an empire for Alexander.

## CAMILLUS.

BORN B. C. 440—DIED B. C. 360.

WHILE the Macedonian empire was crumbling to decay in the east, a new power was rapidly rising in the west of Europe, which was destined to exceed in magnitude and duration all preceding empires. The early history of Rome is involved in obscurity; the ordinary accounts given of the origin and early growth of the city are so disfigured by fables, that there are very few of the incidents intitled to implicit credit. Camillus appeared in the age when romantic legends began to be laid aside for sober narratives, and though even in his biography we shall find many doubtful passages, and some absolute fictions, we still are assured that the bulk of the narrative possesses historical certainty.

"The second founder of Rome," as Camillus was deservedly called, was descended from the ancient family of the Furii, but was the first of the race that acquired influence in the state. At a very early age, earlier indeed than was sanctioned by the Roman law, Camillus entered the army, and soon became distinguished by many deeds of daring heroism. He was rapidly promoted to higher dignities, and showed by his judicious advice in council, that his skill was equal to his valour. He at length attained the dignity of Mili-



tary Tribune, at that time the highest in Rome, because the government of the Consuls had been temporarily suspended to gratify the popular party. The great rival of Rome at this time was the city of Veii; a resolution to destroy it was adopted by the senate and people, but though the Romans were successful in the field, they found that Veii was a city whose capture seemed almost impossible. For ten years was it closely besieged, until at length, as a last experiment, it was resolved to entrust the conduct of the war to Camillus, and to create him dictator. The new general constructed a mine from his camp to the very citadel, and thus attacked the city by surprise; it was easily taken, and the besiegers obtained an immense booty. The magnitude of his success proved the source of future calamities; he displeased the people by the ostentatious magnificence of his triumph, by resisting the colonization of Veii, and by requiring the soldiers to return a tenth part of their plunder as an offering to the gods.

While the city was yet agitated by these disputes, a war arose between the Romans and the Falerians, which again called Camillus into active service. He laid siege to the city, and was preparing his lines of circumvallation, when a Falerian schoolmaster offered to betray into his hands the children of the Falerian nobility, who had been entrusted to his care. Camillus ordered the traitor to be seized, bound, and whipped back to the city by his own scholars. The Falerians were so struck with his magnanimous refusal to take advantage of treason, that they sent an embassy to Rome, soliciting peace, which they easily obtained.

But the disappointment of the soldiers, who had expected to share the plunder of Falerii, added greatly to the unpopularity of Camillus, and his enemies ven-

tured to accuse him of peculation before the assembly of the people. The rage of parties ran so high that Camillus resolved not to wait the event of a trial, but went into voluntary exile. He could not forbear uttering an imprecation against the ingratitude of his countrymen as he passed through the gates; he then proceeded to the residence he had chosen, and learned that he had been condemned to an immense fine in consequence of his absence.

The Romans had soon reason to regret the loss of Camillus; an immense body of Gauls, under the guidance of one of their Brenns, or Kings, forced a passage over the Alps, and devastated a great part of northern Italy. Ambassadors were sent from Rome to remonstrate with the barbarians; they found them besieging the city of Clusium, and vainly required of them to cease from their outrages. The ambassadors, enraged at the neglect shown to their message, joined the Clusian army, and engaged in active hostilities. The Gaulish Brenn, or Brennus, as he is more usually called, sent to Rome a formal complaint against this violation of the laws of nations; but finding his remonstrances disregarded, he suddenly raised the siege of Clusium, and marched against Rome itself. On the banks of the river Allia he met and routed the Roman army with such slaughter, that there no longer remained a sufficient number to defend the city, and all of it but the Capitol was abandoned to the enemy. The Gauls destroyed the city, and closely besieged the Capitol, which they once almost took by surprise. In their distress the Romans applied to Camillus, but his approach was delayed; they entered into a negotiation with the Gauls to retire on the payment of a thousand pounds of gold. While the gold was being weighed, and the Romans

were subjected to the taunts and insults of the victorious barbarians, Camillus suddenly appeared at the head of a numerous army, attacked the Gauls, and gave them a decisive overthrow. Such at least is the account given by most historians ; but we find a tradition among the Claudian family that the money was actually paid to the Gauls, and recovered some months afterwards by a general of that illustrious house.

There is, however, no doubt that the rebuilding of Rome was chiefly owing to the exertions of Camillus ; for a great body both of the populace and even of the nobles proposed a migration to Veii. He also about the same time made an entire change in the Roman system of military discipline, and the improvements which he introduced were the chief causes of the rapid success of the Roman arms. Indeed the city was scarcely rebuilt, when it had not only recovered its former consequence, but even attained a greater influence than it possessed at any former period. He lived to establish the supremacy of Rome over both the Latin and Tuscan cities ; nor were his labours in peace less conspicuous than in war, for he restored concord between the nobles and the commonalty, forcing the former to yield some of their privileges, and teaching the latter that their seditions were injurious both to the state and themselves. He fell a victim to the plague at a very advanced age, and was lamented by all classes as the father of his country. .

## PYRRHUS.

BORN B. C. 316.

THE history of this celebrated monarch forms a link of connexion between nations which, previous to his reign, were little known to each other, but were soon after engaged in a contest for empire. In the course of his varied career, Pyrrhus waged war with the successors of Alexander, the Romans, and the Carthaginians, and experienced in all these contests the same unexpected vicissitudes of fortune which render his life so surprising and so interesting.

The people of Epirus were long regarded by the other Greeks as barbarian; they appear to have formed part of the great Pelasgic race, and to have escaped the Hellenic invasion, which swept the Pelasgians from Greece, by the friendly protection of their lofty mountains. The kings that ruled over the Epirotes boasted that they were descended from Achilles, the celebrated hero of the Trojan war; but they did not, like him, unite refinement with bravery. It was not until after the close of the Peloponnesian war that civilization was introduced into Epirus. A strict alliance had been formed between the Macedonians and the Epirotes: when, therefore, Cassander, the son of Antipater, whom we have mentioned in the life of Eumenes, prepared to usurp the Macedonian throne, he was resisted by Eacidas, King of Epirus. In revenge, Cassander encouraged Neoptolemus, a member of the royal family, to conspire against his sovereign and relative. The plot took effect; Eacidas was assassinated, and all his children but Pyrrhus, then an infant, murdered. A few faithful friends fled with the child, and sought refuge at the

court of Glaucias, King of Illyria. The infantine simplicity with which Pyrrhus grasped the royal mantle, and smiled imploringly in the stranger's face, so affected the compassionate monarch, that he vowed to educate him as his own son, and defend him against all his enemies. Cassander, with his usual vindictiveness, offered two hundred talents for the murder of his enemy's son, but Glaucias indignantly spurned the proffered bribe.

When Pyrrhus was twelve years old, he was placed on the throne of Epirus by Glaucias, but was, five years afterwards, driven out a second time by the partisans of Neoptolemus. He now assumed the character of a military adventurer, and served in the wars that broke out between the successors of Alexander. Having embraced the cause of his brother-in-law, Demetrius Poliorcetes, he was present at the battle of Ipsus, sometimes called the Battle of the Kings, because all the Macedonian generals who had assumed royal titles shared in the engagement. Though his friends were defeated, yet Pyrrhus acquired great honour by the personal courage and prowess which he displayed in this terrible conflict. During the series of misfortunes which Demetrius underwent after the battle of Ipsus, Pyrrhus steadily supported his cause, and even went to Egypt as a hostage for his patron. At the brilliant court of the Ptolemys the talents of Pyrrhus were duly appreciated. He obtained the hand of the Princess Antigone, the daughter of the Egyptian Queen by a former marriage, and was supplied with means of asserting his claim to the Epirote crown. †

The fickle people of Epirus received their returning monarch with great enthusiasm; but Pyrrhus by no means placed confidence in the strength or purity of

their new loyalty. He entered into a treaty with Neoptolemus, by which it was stipulated that they should reign jointly in Epirus. As in most similar instances, this agreement proved hollow and insincere. The joint sovereigns plotted against each other; but Pyrrhus proved more crafty than his rival, and had him assassinated at a banquet.

The death of Cassander, and the subsequent civil wars in Macedon, destroyed the friendship between Pyrrhus and his ancient patron Demetrius. The Epirote monarch supported the claims of Alexander, the son of Cassander, who had purchased his aid by the cession of several provinces. Demetrius, having slain Alexander, assumed the crown of Macedon, and led an army to wrest from Pyrrhus the provinces he had so recently acquired. The armies, by some strange chance, missed each other; Pyrrhus marched into Ætolia, surprised Pantauchus, the Macedonian Governor of that province, and almost annihilated his army. The Epirote soldiers, delighted with the valour that their sovereign had displayed, hailed him as "the eagle that led to victory." He modestly replied, that "If he were the eagle, they had lent the wings by which he was enabled to soar." A brief truce followed; but the combatants would not recede from their respective claims, and the war was renewed. Demetrius advanced against Pyrrhus, but was suddenly deserted by all his followers, and compelled to seek safety in flight: his rival, consequently, remained master of Macedon. Lysimachus, King of Thrace, soon appeared to claim a share of the new acquisition: not satisfied with this concession, he soon demanded the whole. The Macedonian soldiers refused to fight against a general who had served under Alexander, and Pyrrhus was deprived of Macedon with

the same rapidity that he had won it three years before.

Though the Romans had suffered severely from the Gallic invasion, their old rivals had endured greater calamities; and consequently, when the Gauls were defeated, and the city rebuilt, Rome easily acquired supremacy in northern Italy. By degrees the views of the Romans were directed to the southern part of the peninsula, and they engaged in war with the Samnites, and with the descendants of the Grecian colonists that had founded cities on the Adriatic and the Tarentine Bay. The chief of these colonies was Tarentum, whose admirable situation had enabled its inhabitants to acquire great commercial wealth. Unfortunately, their luxury was equal to their riches, and the dissolute lives of the Tarentines had become proverbial. Having provoked the vengeance of the Romans by an act of atrocious piracy, they sought the aid of Pyrrhus to shield themselves from impending danger. Their application was made soon after his expulsion from Macedonia, where his unquiet mind was eagerly seeking some new object on which to exert his energies. Cineas, a pupil of the celebrated Demosthenes, was at this time the chief confidant of the Epirote King. So highly did Pyrrhus estimate his wisdom and eloquence, that he frequently declared, "I have won fewer cities by my own hand, than by the tongue of Cineas." The orator vainly remonstrated with the monarch on the hazardous nature of the Tarentine expedition. Pyrrhus hoped that his victorious career in the West would rival or eclipse the glory Alexander had acquired in the East. He forgot the difference between Europeans and Asiatics,—between the slaves of a despot and the subjects of a free constitution.

But that constitutional freedom, or the supremacy of law, is the only kind that will make a nation great and powerful, was now fully proved by the example of Tarentum. In that unfortunate city the mob possessed the supreme power, and exercised, as indeed mobs always do, a tyranny, compared to which that of Nero was mild and merciful government. Cruel at home, contemptibly weak abroad, an alliance with Tarentum was infinitely more dangerous than its hostility. Pyrrhus was well informed of the state of affairs, but he was not to be diverted from his purpose. He sent Cineas with a large detachment, to secure the city of Tarentum, and prepared to follow him with the main body of his army. Cineas arrived safe, but the fleet of Pyrrhus was shattered by a storm, and a great part of the armament lost.

The Tarentines were soon heartily tired of their Epirote ally. He shut up all their places of entertainment, put an end to their revels, and strictly prohibited their vicious indulgences. He also subjected them to strict military discipline, punished the slightest neglect severely, and treated their remonstrances with contempt. Many of them quitted the place, declaring that they could not bear a state of slavery,—for such a life of subordination appeared to them, after having so long indulged in licentiousness. Pyrrhus seemed to be equally displeased with his allies. He sent a herald to propose an accommodation with the Romans, without consulting the Tarentines; but receiving in reply a peremptory refusal, he resolved to prepare for battle. The armies came to an engagement on the banks of the river Liris. The Romans fought with great bravery, and had almost won the victory, when Pyrrhus brought up his elephants: the unusual sight and smell of these



beasts terrified the horses of the Romans; the cavalry recoiled on the infantry, and threw the lines into disorder. Pyrrhus took advantage of the confusion to lead his Thessalian horse to the charge, and thus decided the fate of the day. Such a triumph, however, was far from elating the conqueror: it had been purchased by the loss of his best officers and soldiers, and had been so fiercely contested, that it taught him to respect the enemy. Impressed by these considerations, Pyrrhus sent Cineas to offer terms of peace to the Roman Senate, and large sums were placed at his disposal to use as bribes. But the Romans, as yet uncorrupted, refused the gold and rejected the treaty, declaring, they would listen to no terms until Pyrrhus had retired from Italy. Cineas, on his return, highly extolled the virtue of the Romans, and declared, that "The Senate appeared to him an assembly of kings." Pyrrhus had soon a personal opportunity of proving the truth of this description: Fabricius, equally remarkable for poverty and probity, came to negotiate with the monarch for an exchange of prisoners, and won from him the homage which virtue must always command. Pyrrhus offered the ambassador a large present, which was rejected. On the next day, having heard that Fabricius had never seen an elephant, he ordered the largest in his army to be concealed behind a curtain, in the place where he gave audience. Fabricius being introduced, the curtain was suddenly withdrawn, and the beast appeared, raising its mighty trunk over the ambassador's head, and making a frightful noise. Fabricius surveyed the scene with calm magnanimity, and, turning to the King, said, "Neither your beast to-day, nor your gold yesterday, has made any impression upon me." The King, in conclusion, allowed the Roman

captives to go home, on the simple assurance of Fabricius, that they should be either sent back or ransomed.

Fabricius soon after was appointed Consul: scarcely had he entered on his office, than he received an offer from the royal physician to poison Pyrrhus for a stipulated sum. The noble Roman refused to profit by such treachery, and sent the letter to the King. Pyrrhus, struck with admiration, liberated all his prisoners without ransom; and the Romans, not to be surpassed in generosity, gave freedom to an equal number of Samnite and Lucanian captives.

In the following year Pyrrhus obtained a very doubtful victory over the Romans at Asculum: his loss nearly equalled that of the enemy; but theirs might easily be recruited, while his was irreparable. These reflections led him to reply to those who congratulated him on his success, "One such victory more, and I am undone." Finding that he gained no other advantage from his success than temporary possession of the field of battle, Pyrrhus grew weary of the Italian war, and resolved to pass over into Sicily, where brighter prospects were opened to his ambition. The Greek colonists and the Carthaginians had long contended for supremacy in Sicily, but the latter had recently become the more powerful. The former called Pyrrhus to their aid, and soon were pleased to find the Carthaginians almost wholly expelled from the island, and the Mamertines round Messina, who also hated the Greeks, compelled to retire within very narrow limits. Pyrrhus resolved to invade Africa, but the heavy demands made on the colonial cities, and the harshness with which he rejected their remonstrances, suddenly alienated their affections, and Pyrrhus, instead of leading an armament

against Africa, was with difficulty enabled to maintain his ground in Sicily. From this dilemma he was relieved by an embassy of the Tarentines, requesting his speedy return to Italy; he availed himself of such an honourable excuse, and bade farewell to Sicily for ever.

Soon after his arrival at Tarentum, he determined to march against the Roman Consul Curius, whom he hoped to surprise in his camp. But during his night-march, the lights were extinguished, and the guides lost their way, so that the day had far advanced when he came in sight of the enemy, with troops fatigued and in disorder. The Roman Consul advanced eagerly to the attack. The charge of the elephants for a time rendered the victory doubtful; but the Romans opening their lines, allowed the beasts to pass through, but showered javelins upon them from a distance, until the maddened beasts rushed back upon their own battalions, and threw them into remediless disorder. Pyrrhus in vain made every possible effort to stop the flight and slaughter of his troops, but at length fled in despair. He now resolved to quit Italy, and, having promised his allies that he would return with a reinforcement, sailed for Epirus, from which he had been six years absent. The garrison that he left behind in Tarentum betrayed the city to the Romans.

After his return home, Pyrrhus, to supply the losses of his Italian and Sicilian campaigns, took into his pay some of those wandering Gallic tribes that at this time devastated Greece. His exhausted exchequer not affording him the means of supporting these mercenaries, he determined on invading Macedon, then ruled by Demetrius, the son of his former patron and rival Demetrius. For the second time Pyrrhus obtained possession of Macedon almost without striking a blow; the

army of Antigonus deserted, and the entire kingdom, with the exception of a few maritime cities, fell into the possession of the invader. Instead of remaining to consolidate his new dominions, Pyrrhus, with his characteristic love of adventure, accepted the invitation of Cleonymus, and resolved to invade the Peloponnesus.

Cleonymus was a claimant of the Spartan crown, but he had been excluded to make room for Areus; soon after a severe wound was inflicted on his domestic peace by Acrotatus, who shared the royalty of Sparta with Areus. Maddened by his wrongs, Cleonymus solicited the aid of Pyrrhus to avenge them, and that monarch advanced so rapidly, that he appeared before the gates of Sparta ere it was known that he had entered the Peloponnesus. If the king had taken advantage of the terror and surprise inspired by his appearance, and ordered an immediate attack, Sparta must have fallen; but unfortunately believing success certain, and anxious to give rest to his wearied soldiers, he resolved on delaying the attack until the following morning.

Sparta had indeed long before this fallen from its high and palmy state; the fame of its ancient glory was only the "dream of a dream, and shadow of a shade;" but now in their last and worst distress, some portion of the ancient spirit revived in their bosoms, and roused them from despair. During this critical night, the citizens laboured with the most intense exertions to fence the capital with a trench; all classes joined in the patriotic work, tottering age and feeble infancy; the delicate female, who before would not have allowed the winds of heaven to visit her face too roughly, and the toil-worn soldier exhausted by the fatigues of the day's march, and wanting rest for the morrow's combat. Day dawned on their completed task. Pyrrhus beheld with

surprise a deep trench, drawn in front of the city, defended on each flank by waggons sunk up to their axletrees in earth. Notwithstanding this unexpected obstacle, he gave orders for the assault, but none of his soldiers could succeed in passing the trench, their feet slipped in the loose soil, and they fell helpless victims under the shower of missiles poured upon them by the Spartans. In the mean time Ptolemy the son of Pyrrhus attempted to turn the Spartan flank; his troops, however, got entangled among the waggons, were attacked by Acrotatus in the midst of their confusion, and compelled to retreat. Pyrrhus was now forced to retire, and before he could complete his preparations for a second assault, Sparta was secured by the arrival of a strong auxiliary force sent by Antigonos from Corinth, and a body of Cretans under the command of King Areus.

A new enterprise was now proposed to the capricious Pyrrhus. His rival Antigonos had interfered in the dispute between the Argive leaders Aristippus and Aristæas; to support the cause of the former he encamped on the high ground near Nauplia, between Argos and Corinth; Aristæas, justly alarmed, applied for aid to Pyrrhus. The Epirote monarch instantly broke up his camp before Sparta, and proceeded on his new expedition, whose novelty seems to have been its principal recommendation. The Spartans hung on his rear, routed the division commanded by king Ptolemy, and slew its leader. Pyrrhus, however, avenged his son's death by a total defeat of the Spartans, and was thus enabled to pursue his march without interruption.

When the Epirote king arrived at Nauplia, he found Antigonos so strongly posted, that it would have been madness to attack him; under these circumstances he

sent a challenge to Antigonus, couched in the most abusive terms, which that monarch had the good sense to decline. The people of Argos, alarmed at the presence of two armies, both of whom appeared equally dangerous to their liberties, sent ambassadors to request them to retire. Both promised compliance; but Pyrrhus in the night advanced towards Argos, and entered at a gate betrayed to him by Aristetas. When the elephants came up to this gate, it proved too narrow to admit their passage, and part of the wall was thrown down to enlarge it; the noise awakened the Argives, and they immediately took measures for a vigorous defence. They secured their citadel Aspis by a strong garrison, and summoned both Antigonus and Areus to their assistance. Pyrrhus had in the mean time entered the city in another quarter, and finding by the noise that an alarm had been given, endeavoured to form a junction with his soldiers at the gate. The darkness of the night, and the narrowness of the streets, effectually prevented this manœuvre, and Pyrrhus was obliged to halt and wait for the approaching dawn. Morning revealed the embarrassments of his situation; the citadel was strongly garrisoned in his front, Antigonus threatened his rear, and the Argives, erecting barricades in their streets, interrupted the communications between his separate division. An attempt to advance only added to the confusion; the cavalry became entangled in the cross-streets; the elephants, galled by missiles from the houses, grew furious, and one, whose driver had been slain, rushed madly up and down through the Epirote battalions, breaking the ranks, and trampling the fallen. Pyrrhus at length sent orders to his son Helenus to open a way for his retreat by breaking down part of the city-wall. By some inexplicable

blunder this message was mistaken for an order to advance, and Helenus, leading his troops into the midst of the city, rendered all attempts at extrication fruitless. Pyrrhus, while making the most vigorous efforts to force a passage, encountered an Argive soldier, whom he was preparing to cut down; the mother of the Argive, witnessing her son's danger from the top of the adjacent house, threw a tile at the king, which struck him with such force on the head, that he fell stunned from his horse. A Macedonian officer, rushing up at the moment, slew the fallen monarch, cut off his head, and presented it to Alcioneus, the son of Antigonus, to be carried to his father.

Antigonus had suffered persecution, and learned mercy; the sight of the bleeding head reminded him of the fate of his father and grandfather; he burst into a passion of tears, and censured his son for his indecent joy. When Alcioneus, on the following day, presented to his father Helenus, the captive son of Pyrrhus, in a mean dress, the generous monarch said, "This, my son, is better than the other, but remove that garment which is more disgraceful to the victor than the vanquished." He then ordered Helenus to be treated in a manner suited to his rank, and honoured the remains of Pyrrhus with a magnificent funeral.

Pyrrhus was the last of the Grecian sovereigns distinguished for foreign conquests. Notwithstanding all his errors, and all his crimes, he raised the Epirotes from being regarded as worthless barbarians to be considered as a great and important nation. In his character and fate he resembled the celebrated Charles XII. of Sweden. The lives of both show how worthless are military talents uncontrolled by wisdom and moral principles; and a slight alteration will make Dr. Johnson's

lines on the Swedish hero applicable to the Epirote monarch.

His fall was destin'd to a foreign land,  
A petty conflict, and a woman's hand.  
He left the name at which the world grew pale,  
To point a moral, or adorn a tale!

## HANNIBAL.

BORN B. C. 241—DIED B. C. 155.

THE Phœnicians were the first who cultivated navigation; Tyre and Sidon, their chief ports, early became remarkable for their vast wealth; and Isaiah calls Tyre "the crowning city, whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth." Colonies are the usual consequences of extensive commerce, and we find that in a remote age the Phœnicians possessed flourishing settlements on both the European and African coasts of the western Mediterranean. Carthage soon eclipsed the other Phœnician colonies; it established its independence without breaking off connexion with the parent state; a strong feeling of affection always existed between the citizens of Tyre and Carthage, which was strengthened by the ties of a common religion. As the glory of Tyre decayed, that of Carthage rose; but other nations had now learned to prize the advantages of commerce, and the Greeks contested the empire of the sea with Carthage. With the subversion of Grecian liberty terminated the enterprising spirit which had led to extensive trade; the Carthaginians prepared to seize on the Grecian colonies in Sicily and southern Italy, when they suddenly encountered new rivals, who proved themselves more formidable enemies than the Greeks and Sicilians. The Ro-



mans having defeated Pyrrhus, soon made themselves masters of southern Italy, and then began to look with longing eyes on the beautiful island that lay beyond the straits of Messina. Sicily was equally the object of the Carthaginian desires; they already possessed a part of it, and were waiting anxiously for an opportunity of making themselves masters of the entire island. These circumstances soon led to a war, called in history the First Punic war, from the word *Pœni*, a name given to the Carthaginians in consequence of their Phœnician origin. In that war the Romans, after enduring many calamities, finally prevailed, and the severe terms they imposed on the vanquished virtually destroyed the power of Carthage.

Carthage was an aristocratic Republic; among its nobility the Barcine family was preeminently distinguished; it had produced an illustrious line of generals, admirals, and statesmen, who had extended the fame and influence of their country, who had laboured most strenuously to check the progress of their Roman enemies. There were, however, some who attributed the calamities of Carthage to the pride and obstinacy of the Barcæ; and that family had consequently a double reason to hate the Romans, whose victories had destroyed the power of their country abroad, and weakened their influence at home. Hamilcar, the chief of the Barcine house, formed a scheme to raise his country to a level with Rome by annexing Spain to the dominions of Carthage. An armament was prepared and placed under his command. He took with him his son Hannibal, a boy only nine years of age, but before his departure he compelled the boy to swear on the altar irreconcilable hostility to the Roman power—an oath that was amply fulfilled in the sequel. Hamilcar fell in

Spain, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Asdrubal. As soon as Hannibal had reached the years of maturity, Asdrubal requested that he should be appointed his assistant, and through the influence of the Barcine family the request was granted. In the three following campaigns Hannibal displayed so much valour and ability, that he was chosen Commander-in-chief by the army on the death of Asdrubal, and the choice was confirmed by the senate of Carthage. Hannibal's brilliant career justified the confidence that had been reposed in him; he subdued the greater part of southern Spain, and at length laid siege to Saguntum, a city whose wealth almost equalled that of Carthage itself. The Saguntines were descended from a Greek colony, which had come to Spain from the island of Zacynthus, now called Zante, and had been subsequently joined by some Romans from the city of Ardea in Italy. As they had no hope of aid from the Greeks, they resolved to sever themselves of their Italian connexions, and sought the powerful protection of Rome. Ambassadors were sent to warn Hannibal that the Saguntines were the allies of the Romans, and that perseverance in the siege would be regarded by the Roman Senate as a declaration of war. But this remonstrance only roused him to fresh exertions; the siege was urged with greater vigour until the city was finally stormed, and all the inhabitants ruthlessly massacred.

The Romans were filled with rage when they learned the miserable fate of the Saguntines; they sent an insolent embassy to Carthage, demanding that Hannibal should be given up to their vengeance; but receiving an indignant refusal, they forthwith published a declaration of war. Hannibal had anticipated the result, and prepared for it by forming alliances with some of the

fiercest tribes both of Spain and Gaul, artfully insinuating that the Saguntines had been deserted by the Romans, after having been instigated to begin the war. The winter was spent in active preparations on both sides; Hannibal sent a body of Spaniards to garrison the African dependencies of Carthage, while Spain was kept in obedience by an African force; he also formed alliances with several Gallic tribes, especially with those who had settled beyond the Alps, and who were long remarkable for their hostility to the Romans.

In the ensuing spring he commenced the extraordinary campaign to which history can scarcely furnish a parallel, by marching towards the Pyrenees with the design of invading Italy. Lofty mountains, rapid rivers, and hostile nations, were to be overcome before he could reach the enemy's army, but he was not daunted by the difficulties, they only served to stimulate his energies. After encountering and triumphing over many toils and dangers, he reached the foot of the Alps, but there the stoutest of his soldiers stood appalled. Encouraging them to fresh efforts, he finally led them over this mountainous chain, and after a toilsome march of fourteen days reached the fertile plains of Insubria. Scipio, the Roman commander, hastened to attack the Carthaginians before they had recovered from their fatigue; Hannibal advanced to meet him, and a fierce engagement was fought at the river Ticinus, in which the Romans were severely defeated. The consul Sempronius rashly ventured on a second battle near the river Trebia, and was routed with dreadful slaughter; ten thousand of the Romans forced a passage through the hostile lines, and fought their way to the city of Placentia; the rest of the army was cut to pieces.

Hannibal had well calculated his chances before in-

vading Italy; he knew that the Romans had only recently established their supremacy in that peninsula, and he reasonably expected to find allies in many of the Gallic and Italian tribes that had been recently subjected. He dismissed without ransom all the Gauls and Italians that had been taken at the Trebia, and gave orders that their lands should be spared when his troops made incursions into the territories of the Romans. This policy procured him such numerous allies, that he ventured to open the next campaign by the invasion of Etruria, after having led his troops over the wild mountains of the Apennines. The consul Flaminius hastened to attack him, but was defeated and slain at the Thrasy-mene lake. Fifteen thousand of the Romans fell in the battle, and nearly as many more were made prisoners on that and the following day. The news of this great calamity produced violent alarm in Rome; it was supposed that Hannibal would make a dash on the city, and as the armies were distant, the old and wounded armed themselves in its defence. But the Carthaginian general directed his march to the south-east, and contrary to his former custom treated the allies of the Romans with great cruelty.

In the following year, Fabius being appointed consul, determined to wear out the Carthaginians by delay, and avoid an engagement. Hannibal invaded Campania, and devastated that fertile province in the sight of the Roman armies, but no provocations could shake the resolution of Fabius. This cautious conduct was more injurious to the Carthaginian cause than defeat, and Hannibal, in his anxiety to force the Roman general to change it, had very nearly caused the ruin of his army. He was in fact surrounded in a position which it was impossible to defend; he extricated himself by strata-

gem, but was unable to gain any important advantage during the rest of the campaign.

The succeeding consuls, Servilius and Regulus, adopted the prudent plan of Fabius; Hannibal was reduced to great distress, and at the same time he learned that the Roman arms were triumphant in Sicily and Spain. But the intemperate rashness of Varro, who had been raised to the consulship by a factious multitude, and who with plebeian arrogance scorned the prudent counsels of his colleague Æmilius Paulus, restored the hopes of the Carthaginians. The battle of Cannæ, precipitated by the folly of Varro, terminated in a defeat that seemed to threaten the utter extinction of the Roman name; yet its consequences proved more fatal to the victors than the vanquished. Instead of marching to Rome, a measure, which, even if unsuccessful, would have terrified the Roman allies, he directed his course to Capua, where his troops were corrupted by riches and enervated by luxury. So far were the Romans from being disheartened by defeat, that they refused to listen to any terms of peace, and would not even ransom their prisoners.

Mago, the brother of the victorious general, was sent to Carthage, both to render an account of the conquests that had been made, and to demand reinforcements. This demand was resisted by Hanno and the enemies of the Barcine family; they were out-voted, but they successfully exerted themselves both to delay the succours and diminish their amount. The war in Spain still continued with varied success, but on the whole the Romans had the superiority; Hannibal, however, convinced that the contest was to be decided in Italy, ordered his brother Asdrubal to march from Spain with his entire army: at the same time he acquired possession

of many valuable towns in southern Italy. He also entered into a treaty with Philip king of Macedon, but his ambassadors having been captured by the Romans before the treaty was ratified, he reaped no advantage from the alliance.

The fortune of the war began now to change; the Romans gained several important advantages, and Hannibal himself was defeated by Marcellus at the siege of Nola. At the same time, the Carthaginians were driven from Sardinia, and defeated at sea and in Spain. The following campaign was indecisive, for though Hannibal gained some brilliant triumphs, his allies suffered severe defeats, and before the campaign closed Capua was surrendered to the Romans. In the next year Hannibal's affairs had declined so sensibly, that his last hopes of success rested on a junction with Asdrubal, and he sent orders to that general to abandon Spain, and hasten to his assistance. The consuls Livius and Claudius, having obtained information of Asdrubal's march, hastened to intercept him. They met the Carthaginians at the river Metaurus, whither they had been led by the ignorance or treachery of their guides; a battle ensued, in which Asdrubal was slain, and his army virtually annihilated. The first intelligence Hannibal received of the event was from the sight of his brother's head, which the barbarous conquerors had the cruelty to throw into his camp; he received it with horror and sadness, exclaiming that "the gods had deserted the cause of Carthage."

The Carthaginian Senate had in fact become the worst enemies of their own cause; the war in Spain had been so wretchedly conducted, that the greater part of the country was in the possession of the Romans; the cruelty with which the subject African nations were treated had driven them into rebellion; and worse than all, no

reinforcements were sent to Hannibal. Left to his own resources, that general was forced to act on the defensive, and protract the war in hope of availing himself of chances.

At length matters were brought to a crisis by the invasion of Africa. Scipio, a Roman general, who, though still in the bloom of youth, had acquired great glory by his conduct in Spain, passed the sea, and while Hannibal scarcely maintained himself in Italy, made the Carthaginians tremble for their own capital. Being joined by Masinissa, a claimant of the Numidian crown, who had been deprived of royalty and his betrothed spouse Sophonisba by the usurper Syphax, the Roman general soon secured himself in the country. Early in the following spring he marched against the allied forces of the Carthaginians and Numidians, whom he routed with fearful slaughter. A second victory, still more decisive, so terrified the Carthaginians, that they sent deputies to beg peace but failing to obtain it, they recalled Hannibal to defend his own country.

With tears in his eyes the Carthaginian general quitted the land whose fairest provinces he had held for so many years, and on his arrival in Africa made the most vigorous exertions to revive the courage of his countrymen. He then sought and obtained a personal interview with Scipio, to discuss propositions of peace ; but finding the demands of the Romans too exorbitant, he determined to hazard a battle. The plains of Zama were the scene of the contest between two of the greatest generals the world ever produced ; the object for which they fought was one of sufficient magnitude, the empire of western Europe. The battle was long and bloody, but its issue was scarcely for a moment doubtful ; at the very commencement the Carthaginian elephants, ter-

rified by the trumpets and the cries of the Roman soldiers, and galled by the slingers and archers, fell back upon their own wings, which they threw into remediless confusion; the Roman and auxiliary cavalry charged them while in disorder, and cut the greater part of them to pieces. The reserve of Hannibal's veterans made a fiercer resistance, but being attacked at once in front and on both flanks, they were finally broken, and the fate of the day was decided. Hannibal having, even by the confession of his rival, performed everything that could be done by an able general, fled with a few horsemen to Adrumetum, whence returning to Carthage, he recommended peace to the Senate. The terms exacted by the Romans were very severe, but the resources of Carthage were exhausted, and they were forced to submit to whatever Scipio pleased to dictate.

This disgraceful conclusion of a war, whose commencement exhibited such different prospects, proved fatal to the political influence of the Barcinæ family. The Romans, jealous of Hannibal's ability, constantly urged that he should be deprived of command, and Hannibal, finding that the hostile faction was likely to prevail, went into voluntary exile. He sought refuge at the court of Antiochus king of Syria, who was then at war with the Romans.

The Syrian kingdom was the most powerful of those that had been formed out of the ruins of the empire of Alexander; but its rulers had gradually degenerated, until they had sunk into mere indolence. The court of Antiochus exhibited the slavery of Asia oddly combined with the polish and learning of Europe; it was crowded by parasites, sophists, poets, and all those who derive their support from royal profligacy or folly. Of this Hannibal was soon convinced, when the sophist Phormio



presumed to lecture him on the art of war; the old general quietly replied, "I have met many old fools, but such as Phormio never." Antiochus was unable to comprehend the extensive plan of operations proposed by Hannibal; he, therefore, soon grew cold towards him, and totally withdrew his countenance when the gallant exile, through the cowardice of his Syrian supporters, was defeated in a naval engagement by the Romans. He had even the inconceivable meanness, when concluding a peace with the Romans, to make giving up Hannibal an article of the treaty. The old Carthaginian fled from the treacherous monarch to Crete, and from thence proceeded to the court of Prusias king of Bithynia. Hither he was followed by the implacable hatred of the Romans; they sent ambassadors to demand their dreaded enemy from Prusias, and that monarch, intimidated by the Roman power, promised compliance. Hannibal received notice of these circumstances, and terminated his life by taking poison, which he had kept concealed in a ring, to use in case of such an emergency.

Thus died one of the greatest generals that the world ever produced; his fame has not even been obscured by the fact that all our knowledge of him is derived from the accounts of his most bitter enemies.

### CAIUS MARIUS.

BORN B. C. 154—DIED B. C. 85.

THIS very distinguished general was born of humble parents in the territory of Arpinum; his education was neglected, nor did he in after life attempt to remedy its deficiencies. When he reached the age of manhood, he entered the army, and by his conduct in the Numantine

war, gained the esteem and support of Scipio Africanus ; he was soon raised from the ranks to the dignity of centurion, and subsequently to higher authority, but he still preserved such a modest demeanour, that no one envied his elevation. After the termination of the war, he held the civic offices of tribune and prætor, in both of which he showed himself a bitter enemy to the power of the aristocracy.

It must be confessed that the conduct of the Roman nobility at this time was badly calculated to support the dignity and influence of their hereditary rank. After the Patricians had triumphed over the Gracchi, they cruelly persecuted all who advocated the rights of the people, and when they had thus overcome all opposition, they plundered the subjects and allies of Rome with shameless profligacy. An atrocious instance of injustice and peculation at length roused the people to vengeance, and laid the foundation of those bloody struggles which terminated in the overthrow of the Roman Republic. Atherbal and Hiempsal, the grandsons of that Masinissa whom we have mentioned in the preceding chapter as the faithful ally of the Romans, were murdered by their cousin Jugurtha ; and the Senate, instead of punishing such atrocious guilt, seemed about to give impunity to the criminal. Being forced to declare war by the force of public opinion, they entrusted their armies to leaders who suffered themselves to be bribed and duped by the Numidian usurper. At length the Roman army was disgracefully defeated, and a peace concluded with Jugurtha on dishonourable conditions. So violent was the rage of the people, that the Senate was forced to annul the treaty, and to entrust the conduct of the war to Cæcilius Metellus, a nobleman of equal integrity and ability. Metellus, though a

vigorous supporter of the aristocracy, chose Marius for his lieutenant, being resolved that the difference of parties should not hinder his country from reaping the advantages of talent.

The success of the campaign was very great, but Metellus was not permitted to reap its fruits. Marius sedulously laboured to ingratiate himself with the army, and having persuaded the soldiers that he alone was able to cope with the artful Jugurtha, returned to Rome to become a candidate for the consulship. Letters from the soldiers and from the Italian merchants settled in Africa had preceded him; in these his claims were strenuously urged, and Metellus was accused of designedly protracting the war to gratify his ambition and love of power. These arts prevailed; Marius was elected consul, and was by a vote of the people appointed to conduct the Numidian war, in spite of an opposite decree of the Senate. Metellus, justly indignant, would not stay to meet his successor, and quitted Africa: Marius, thus left without a rival, prosecuted the war with vigour. The usurper was soon driven from his dominions, and forced to seek refuge in the court of Bocchus king of Mauritania. Marius sent Sylla his questor to claim the fugitive, and he, having previously acquired some influence over Bocchus, procured Jugurtha to be delivered into his hands alive. Sylla in consequence claimed the merit of having concluded the war, and thus robbed Marius of his glory as he had formerly defrauded Metellus. Hence mutual animosity arose, and as they belonged to rival factions, personal jealousy sharpened their political hostility.

A new and dangerous enemy, that threatened the very existence of the state, hushed for a time the dissensions of parties. The Cimbri and Teutones issuing

in immense hordes from their northern provinces, forced their way through Gaul and over the Alps, and poured, like a flood of lava, over northern Italy. Several generals had been sent to check their destructive progress; but they were successively defeated, and the Romans began to tremble in their very capital. At length Marius was appointed to conduct an army against the invaders, and his name at once restored confidence to the soldiers. Luckily, the barbarians were diverted from their original purpose for a time by an invasion of Spain, and Marius thus obtained leisure to improve the discipline and raise the spirits of his soldiers. So forcibly did the Roman people feel that their hopes of safety rested on Marius, that they elected him Consul a fourth time, an honour almost unprecedented.

When intelligence arrived that the barbarians, disappointed in Spain, were about to renew their attack on Italy, Marius passed the Alps, and posted himself in a fortified camp, where he was within reach of assistance from the fleet. The barbarians soon appeared, and endeavoured by studied insults to provoke an engagement: but Marius was anxious to familiarize his soldiers with the strange and terrible appearance of their enemies. The Teutones, encouraged by this apparent timidity, resolved to leave Marius behind them, and march for Italy. They passed by the Roman camp, asking the soldiers, "If they had any message home?" and proceeded towards the Italian frontier. Marius also broke up his camp, and followed on their traces, until he reached Aquæ Sextiæ, in southern Gaul. Accident rather than design brought on an engagement, in which the presence of mind displayed by Marius saved the Romans from the consequences of their temerity. The barbarians suffered great loss; but the vast multi-

tude of their forces seemed scarcely to have been diminished, and both armies eventually occupied their former camps. Knowing the effect of surprise on such hordes, Marius sent his lieutenant, Claudius Metellus, with a detachment of three thousand men to attack their rear, when the engagement began. The violence of the Teutones gave full effect to the stratagem: they attacked the Romans with such headlong impetuosity, that they impeded each other; and when Metellus assailed their rear, they had fallen into a complete mob, and were cut down without the possibility of making resistance, like corn before the sickle. It was not a battle, but a slaughter. The Romans had been too well frightened to think of mercy, and one hundred thousand of the northern warriors are said to have been slaughtered. Marius was engaged in solemnizing a sacrifice to the gods for his brilliant success, when he received intelligence of his having been elected consul for the fifth time,—a circumstance which greatly increased the delight of the soldiers.

Catullus, the colleague of Marius, had not equal success against the Cimbri: he was driven from his line of defence behind the Athesis, and forced to leave northern Italy exposed to the ravages of the barbarians. Marius hastened to remedy this disaster, and was received by Catullus with great apparent joy. The Cimbri could not be persuaded of the fate of their brethren until Marius exhibited to them the captive Teutonic monarchs loaded with chains. Instead of being dispirited by the intelligence, they were roused by the desire of vengeance, and challenged the Romans to the combat. The battle terminated in the complete triumph of the Romans; but it was long a subject of controversy, whether Marius or Catullus had the better claim to the

glory of the day. The former victory over the Teutones contrasted with the recent defeat of Catullus, induced the great majority of the people to decide in favour of Marius, and he was named "the third founder of Rome." No victory could have been more complete: one hundred and twenty thousand of the Cimbrians fell, and sixty thousand were made prisoners. A great many of the slain fell by their own hands, or were murdered by the women when they fled to the camp. So great was the fury of the Cimbrian females, that when they found their efforts to stop the fugitives, or check the tide of pursuit, ineffectual, they murdered all their infant children, and finally slew themselves.

Marius now aspired to a sixth consulship, which he obtained by flattering the base passions of the populace. During his office he procured the banishment of his old rival, Metellus: but though thus successful, he found himself unable to restrain the violence of his meaner associates. Like all who trust for eminence to political agitation and popular violence, he found that it was easy to excite a mob, but utterly impossible to direct their proceedings, and that the ignorance of subordinate agitators generally renders useless the prudence of their chief. Saturninus, his most vigorous partisan, at length raised the standard of insurrection, and seized the Capitol. He was soon forced to surrender, and had the mortification to witness the execution of the traitor and his associates. This proof of the dangers resulting from yielding to demagogues produced such a reaction, that Metellus was recalled, and Marius forced to resign all hopes of the censorship, which was then the chief object of his ambition. Mortified to find his influence decreasing, he pretended a desire to travel, and visited the Roman provinces in Asia. During the course of

his tour, Marius became sensible that his defective education must ever impede his acquiring influence during peace ; and he therefore became anxious to excite a new war. For this purpose, he sought an interview with Mithridates King of Pontus, and addressed him in the following terms :—" Mithridates, your business is, either to render yourself more powerful than the Romans, or to submit quietly to their commands." The King was a little astonished by the freedom of such a speech ; but it did not fail to produce a powerful influence on his mind, for it perfectly coincided with his own sentiments.

Soon after the return of Marius to Rome, the Marian, or Social War, broke out, occasioned by the pride and harshness with which the Romans treated their Italian allies. Marius did not maintain his fame during this war, but suffered himself to be surpassed both in activity and enterprise by his young rival, Sylla. The patricians, delighted to find in their party one whose rising glory effaced the memory of their great enemy's exploits, diligently laboured to increase his fame, and appointed Sylla to conduct the war against Mithridates. \* This had been the great object to which Marius aspired, and he resolved, by means of the populace, to make the Senate change their resolution. Sulpitius, one of his creatures, presented himself in the forum, with a band of armed men, and compelled the consuls to allow the choice of a commander to the people : they yielded, and the conduct of the Mithridatic war was assigned to Marius.

Sylla had in the mean time secured the affections of the army, and peremptorily refused to obey the illegal decree. He even allowed his soldiers to murder the tribunes who brought him the orders. Marius, on the other hand, slew many of Sylla's friends in Rome, and

would have massacred more, had not that general unexpectedly marched with all his forces towards the city. This sudden movement filled the Marian faction with terror. In vain did their leader strive to animate their courage; in vain did he offer freedom to all the slaves that would enlist in his service. He was forced to quit Rome as a fugitive, and found himself deserted by all his former friends. Having sent his son news of this unlooked-for revolution, Marius embarked on board a ship provided by one of his adherents, resolved to quit Italy until circumstances should become more favourable to his hopes. Contrary winds, however, threw him back upon the coast, and the mariners, unwilling to betray, and unable to protect him, put him ashore. His arrival soon became known, and a vigorous pursuit was commenced. He was taken in a marsh, where he had tried to conceal himself by plunging up to his neck in the stagnant water, and was led into the town of Minturnæ, dripping with wet, and covered with mire. In this miserable condition he was dragged to prison, and a Cimbrian slave was sent to put him to death. When the executioner entered the apartment, the aged general, sternly looking at him, said, "Hast thou the presumption to kill Caius Marius?" by which the Cimbrian was so moved, that he threw down the sword, and rushed through the town, exclaiming, "I cannot kill Marius! I cannot kill Marius!" When this strange circumstance was made known to the magistrates, it inclined their hearts to pity: they resolved to save the warrior, who, in the Cimbrian war, had been the saviour of Italy, and sent him to the sea-coast with a sufficient escort.

Learning that his son had sought refuge in the court of Hiempsal, King of Numidia, Marius resolved to sail for Africa. He was compelled to touch at Sicily, in



order to procure fresh water; but he narrowly escaped being arrested by the Roman governor, and sixteen of his followers were slain while covering his escape. The illustrious exile landed in Africa, near the ruins of that city which had once been the rival of Rome. Scarcely, however, had he arrived, when he received a message from the Prætor Scæpius, threatening him with arrest unless he instantly retired. Marius heard the cruel order in silence, and being urged to send an answer to the governor, replied, "Go, and tell him that thou hast seen Cæsar Marius sitting on the ruins of Carthage." There is nothing more noble, nothing more truly characteristic of genius in the great warrior's life, than this celebrated reply. What more striking instances of the mutability of fortune could be given, than the examples of fallen individual and national greatness that on this occasion were brought together?

Young Marius had in the mean time been made a prisoner by Hippidius, but he contrived to escape, and met his father just in time to save him falling into that monarch's power. The two exiles, now almost hopeless, proceeded to the little island of Cercina; but there they were cheered by intelligence of a new revolution, which promised to restore their faction to all their former power.

The democratic party had not used their victory with moderation. Besides persecuting those who had been enemies for their support of Marius, they illegally deprived Cinna of the consulship, and thus provoked that bold, bad man to head a new insurrection. The exiles soon joined the revolted; and as Sylla was absent, conducting the war in Asia, they soon drove the patrician forces from the field. An obstinate adherence to the forms of the constitution, and a superstitious belief in

the predictions of a Chaldean soothsayer, prevented Octavius from making a judicious use of his resources, or saving his life by flight. He remained inactive until the Marian faction could no longer be resisted, and he continued in the city when the victorious enemies were entering the gates. Cinna and Marius having reached the walls of Rome, messengers were sent by the Senate to deprecate their resentment. Cinna gave a favourable answer, but Marius preserved a gloomy silence. When they reached the gates, Marius refused to enter until the sentence of his banishment was revoked. An assembly was hastily convened for the purpose; but no more than four tribes had given their votes, when he became impatient, and, without waiting for any farther formality, entered the city at the head of a body of slaves devoted to his will.

The slaughter perpetrated by the triumphant faction exceeded any thing recorded in the pages of Roman History, except that by which it was subsequently avenged, when Sylla, in his turn, became triumphant. Neither age, sex, rank, nor condition, shielded a victim from the inhuman resentment of Marius. He frequently indulged in excessive drinking; but intemperance only sharpened his depraved passions, and the shrieks of wretches tortured to death by his command supplied the favourite music of his festal board. He had been raised to the consulship a seventh time, but the honour failed to raise his spirits, depressed by conscious guilt and the dread of Sylla's resentment. At length a pleuritic fever terminated his life and his crimes. Sylla returned from the East in the following year, and more than retaliated their cruelties on the Marian faction. Young Marius committed suicide to save himself from falling into the enemy's hands.

## CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

BORN B.C. 98. SLAIN B.C. 42.

THE Julian family was one of the most illustrious in Rome, but Marius having married a lady of that house, a connection was formed between the Julii and the democratic faction about the time that Caius Julius Cæsar was born. His youth gave little promise of the excellence to which he afterwards attained. He was conspicuous for his dissipation in an age when the profligacy of the young nobility could not be surpassed: his vices were ostentatiously exhibited, so that many believed the display to be the result of an artful plan to hide his abilities and ambition until a favourable opportunity offered of exerting the one and indulging the other. When Sylla became triumphant, he at first overlooked this young partisan of Marius; but when Cæsar, at his desire, refused to repudiate the daughter of Cinna, and farther provoked him by becoming a candidate for the priesthood before attaining the legal age, he placed his name in the fatal proscription list. By the importunity of his friends, Sylla was induced to revoke the sentence; but he did so with obvious reluctance, declaring, that "In that boy there were many Marii." Cæsar, however, thought it prudent to leave Rome, and travel for some time in Asia. On his voyage he was made a prisoner by some Cilician pirates, with whom he remained thirty-eight days, treating them as a master rather than a captive. When released, he led an expedition against these very pirates, took the greater part of them, and put them to death, as he had threatened to do when in their power, while they laughed him to scorn. He then went to Rhodes, where he studied the

art of eloquence under Apollonius, having Cicero for his fellow-pupil, and on the death of Sylla he returned to Rome.

Incapable of remaining inactive, he became an advocate of public causes before the assemblies of the people, and acquired great fame by his ready and manly eloquence. He was soon after elected tribune of the people, and by an act of grateful courage raised once more the confidence and the hopes of the democratic party. When pronouncing the funeral oration over his aunt Julia, he took the opportunity of delivering a brilliant eulogium on the deceased Marius, and displaying his statue. The enormous expenses to which Cæsar's liberal style of living subjected him, exhausted his resources, and sunk him deeply in debt: but he trusted that the favour of the people would, at no distant period, remunerate him; and he persevered in his endeavours to gain their affections by largesses and public games. He also caused memorials of the victory gained by Marius over the Cimbri to be placed in the Capitol,—a matter deemed of so much importance that it was made the subject of a complaint to the Senate; but that body prudently refused to interfere.

Soon after, Metellus, the Chief Pontiff, died, and Cæsar became a candidate for that high office. He was opposed by Catulus and Isauricus, the most illustrious and influential senators in Rome: but the young aspirant triumphed over his rivals, and was elected by a large majority. The Senate and the great body of the nobility were greatly annoyed by this unexpected event, and the disappointed candidates set no bounds to their indignation. They attempted to take revenge by involving Cæsar in the guilt of Catiline's conspiracy, accusing him of participation in the treason: but they

could not prevail on Cicero to countenance their base efforts, and Cæsar easily triumphed over their malicious insinuations.

There were, however, some reasons for believing that Cæsar was not altogether opposed to the professed designs of Catiline, though he certainly would not have joined in that traitor's sanguinary plans. He exposed himself to great odium by the zeal with which he endeavoured to save the conspirators from being executed; and it is said, that his life was threatened by some of the younger nobility. A circumstance occurred in the prætorship of Cæsar which more justly exposed him to censure. The secret rites of the *Bona Dea*, at which women alone were allowed to be present, were being celebrated at Cæsar's house, when Clodius, a young profligate nobleman, contrived to introduce himself in disguise. He was detected and brought to trial, for that and his other impieties. Cæsar, who had in the mean time divorced his wife, was summoned as a witness for the prosecution, and astonished the judges by declaring, that he knew nothing against the character of Clodius. Being asked, "Why, then, had he repudiated his wife Pompeia?" he replied, "Because I would have the chastity of my wife free even from suspicion." It was, however, sufficiently notorious, that Cæsar was unwilling to displease the people, with whom Clodius, a turbulent demagogue, was a favourite, by giving such evidence as must have led to his conviction. Eventually, Clodius was acquitted; some say, because the judges were bribed; others, because they were intimidated by the threats of the populace. Clodius ever afterwards was ranked among the most zealous followers of Cæsar, who did not scruple to avail himself of the services of a wretch whom he heartily despised. The

Senate and nobility were justly displeased with Cæsar's conduct on this occasion: they accused him, and not unjustly, of skreening guilt, and conniving at his own dishonour. Some affected to believe that he was bribed; but such an imputation is effectually refuted by every action of his life.

After the expiration of his prætorship, he obtained the government of Spain; but his creditors threatened to prevent his journey to his province. He was released from his difficulties by Crassus, the richest man in Rome, who lent him a large sum to pay his most pressing debts; hoping thus to obtain Cæsar's support in his contest with Pompey for the direction of the State. Cæsar's conduct in Spain merits high praise; he extended the limits of the Roman power, gained several victories over hostile tribes, acquired the love of his own soldiers, and deservedly obtained the gratitude of the native Spaniards by the mildness and equity of his administration. On his return to Rome, he found himself placed in rather a curious dilemma; the laws required the claimant of a triumph to remain outside the walls, and at the same time commanded that a candidate for the consulship should appear in the city. By the artifice of Cato, the request to have the latter law suspended was eluded, and being thus compelled to choose between the two great objects of his ambition, he resolved to resign his claim to a triumph.

On his entrance into the city, Cæsar strenuously exerted himself to effect a reconciliation between Crassus and Pompey; he succeeded, and formed with them an alliance, known in history as the First Triumvirate, which was in fact an agreement that the three should share the sovereignty of Rome between them. In consequence of this arrangement, he was elected Consul

with little difficulty; he began his magistracy by proposing several laws calculated to raise the power of the people, and diminish that of the Senate; his colleague Bibulus lent some faint attempts to oppose them, but being overawed by the firmness of Cæsar, he allowed them to be enacted almost without a struggle. He, however, stamped lasting infamy on his character by procuring the election of Clodius to the Tribuneship, and aiding that turbulent demagogue in procuring the banishment of Cicero for the measures he had taken to save the city from Catiline and his associates.

Having removed the most eloquent champion of the constitution, the Triumvirs proceeded to share the provinces among them; Crassus chose Asia, Pompey selected Spain, and the province of Gaul, as yet imperfectly subdued, was assigned to Cæsar. From this time forth Cæsar appears in a new character; he displayed qualities as a warrior and general which have been rarely equalled and never surpassed either in ancient or modern times. A particular enumeration of his exploits would require a volume: suffice it to say that he subdued all the tribes between the Alps and the German ocean; that he passed the Rhine and overthrew the Germans in their own wild forests; and finally, that having crossed the Channel, he invaded Britain, gained a decisive victory, and compelled the nations in the south of the island to yield him at least a nominal obedience.

Pompey at first was a zealous supporter of Cæsar's fame, to whose daughter he had been married; but her death diminished their intimacy, and the destruction of Crassus in Parthia, leaving the power between two, soon led to jealousy and rivalry. The visits of Pompey to Cæsar's camp, in Cisalpine Gaul, became less frequent, and were at length wholly discontinued; Cæsar's request

to be allowed to become a candidate for the Consulship was evaded, some of his friends were insulted, and his just claims on the treasury refused. Pompey embraced the cause of the Senate, and that body became his subservient adherents. The following character of the rivals at this period is translated from Lucan's *Pharsalia* :

' You, Pompey, fear lest modern deeds efface •  
 Your ancient triumphs o'er the pirate\* race.  
*You* † a long series of heroic deeds  
 And fierce impatience of a greater leads ;  
 Pompey no rival, Cæsar brooks no lord—  
 Yet who more justly drew the hostile sword  
 We dare not know—Cato and Heaven divide, ‡  
 It chose the victor's, || the vanquish'd side.  
 Ill were they match'd—the one § now aged grown,  
 Unlearn'd the warrior in the peaceful gown ;  
 He courts the praise that follow'd him so long,  
 And buys the plaudits of a hireling throng :  
 Pleas'd with the venal shouts, no triumphs now  
 Replace the laurels withering on his brow ;  
 His sole reliance is his former fame,  
 He stands the shadow of a mighty name ;  
 Like the proud oak, that in a fruitful field •  
 Sustains the rusted casque, || and mouldering shield—  
 The faint memorials of forgotten days,  
 Chieftains unknown and unremember'd frays—  
 Whose perish'd roots no more the trunk sustain,  
 Fix'd by its weight still triumphs in the plain ;  
 Still are its leafless boughs to heaven display'd,  
 The naked trunk alone extends a shade.  
 Yet though it quivers in each passing breeze  
 Ready to fall—though round it younger trees,

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\* Pompey had acquired great fame by subduing the Cilician pirates.  
 † Cæsar.

‡ This sentiment is justly stigmatized as blasphemous, even in the mouth of a Pagan poet.

§ Pompey.

|| Helmet.



In all the pride of youthful bloom are shown,  
It stands unrival'd, honour'd, and alone.

Cæsar relies not on an empty name—  
War his delight, defeat his only shame ;  
Tameless and fierce, as hope or anger burns,  
The impatient warrior with fresh vigour turns ;  
Conquest impels him to more glorious deeds,  
Believing fate his friend : whate'er impedes  
His proud career soon owns the victor's sway ;  
He views with triumph ruin mark his way.  
Thus bursts from angry clouds the flashing levin,  
Rushing in thunders o'er the startled heaven,  
The echoing globe reverberates the crash ;  
Its pale inhabitants are dumb—the flash  
Darting athwart closes each eye in pain—  
Its own wild flames consume its own proud fane.  
No fence restrains it, and no limits bound,  
It spreads a waste of ruin all around ;  
Then to its clouds on wings of flame retires,  
And bears to heaven its reassembled fires."

The hostility of the rivals was at first concealed, but every hour added to its strength, and Pompey at length openly exerted himself to exclude Cæsar from the Consulship, and deprive him of the government of Gaul. Cæsar, on the other hand, offered to resign his authority and dismiss his army, if Pompey would do the same ; but the Senate refused to listen to the proposal, and the Tribunes Antony and Curio, through whom it was communicated, were obliged to fly from Rome in disguise. Thus was Cæsar afforded a constitutional pretext for commencing the war, under the pretence of vindicating the power of the popular magistrates. But though Pompey and the aristocratic party had thus rashly precipitated hostilities, they had made little or no preparations for the contest. Pompey relied on his former fame and apparent popularity ; he declared that if he only

stamped in any part of Italy, an army would appear at his summons; and he was persuaded by some flatterers that Cæsar's men would desert when opposed to him the favourite general of the Republic. While Rome was agitated by the discussions between the friends of peace and war, Cæsar prepared to act with promptitude; he led a select body of troops over the Alps, into Cisalpine Gaul, a circumstance which did not attract immediate notice, as that province was included within the limits of his government. Having sent a body of troops to secure the important post of Ariminum, he went with a few friends by a different route, and soon reached the river Rubicon, which formed the extreme boundary of his command. On the bank of this little stream he remained for some time in anxious thought, revolving the calamities to which he was about to expose his country. At length, as if moved by a sudden impulse, he exclaimed, "The die is cast," dashed into the stream, and soon reaching the opposite shore, stood within the sacred precincts of Italy as an enemy.

Nothing could exceed the alarm and confusion which the news of Cæsar's advance spread through Rome; from their absurd excess of confidence, the Patricians passed into the opposite extreme, and Pompey was carried away by the torrent. He fled from Rome, accompanied by the Consuls and principal Senators, with disgraceful precipitation, and by a singular oversight, left all the public treasure at the mercy of his rival. Cæsar in the mean time advanced; he encountered some opposition at Corfinium, but he easily made himself master of the town, treating both the citizens and the garrison with the most generous humanity.

It would be scarcely just to say that this lenity was merely the dictate of refined policy; but certainly it

contributed more than any other circumstance to Cæsar's success; a great part of the Corfinian garrison joined his ranks, and many who had fled from Rome at the first alarm now returned to the city. Having secured the public treasure, he pursued Pompey to Brundisium, but that leader eluded his grasp, and passed over to Dyrrhachium, resolved to transfer the seat of war to eastern Europe. Before pursuing Pompey, Cæsar found it necessary to secure Spain; he marched against Pompey's lieutenants in that country, forced their camp, and strengthened his own army by enlisting numbers of the vanquished soldiers.

Without waiting for the assembling of his entire army, Cæsar passed over to Epirus, and made himself master of Oricum and Apollonia. Anxious to bring over the rest of his troops, he attempted to cross the Ionian sea in an open boat. A fierce storm arose, and the mariners threw down their oars in despair; at the great commander addressing the captain said "Thou carriest Cæsar and his fortunes;" the sailors, on learning the importance of their passenger, renewed their exertions, but finding that a passage could not be effected, they brought back their bark to the port, from which they had sailed. Soon after Antony arrived from Brundisium with the troops, and Cæsar, advancing towards the enemy, offered them an opportunity of engaging. Pompey having the advantage of a favourable position, well supplied with provisions, of which Cæsar's men were in great want, and being in daily expectation of receiving large reinforcements, declined the proffered battle; and the two armies encamped near each other, continually skirmishing at the advanced posts. In one of these, Cæsar's men were defeated, and being seized

with a sudden panic, fled in such confusion to their camp, that had Pompey followed up his advantage, the fate of the war would have been on that day decided. Cæsar, once more safe, declared that his enemies knew not how to conquer, but he resolved to abandon his present system of warfare, and draw the enemy from their position by invading Thessaly and Macedonia.

The removal of his rival's camp was viewed by Pompey's partisans as a retreat, and filled them with the most extravagant exultation; they urged Pompey to pursue and overwhelm the fugitive, and he, against his better judgment, was unfortunately persuaded into seeking an engagement. On the memorable plains of Pharsalia the two armies met to decide the empire of the world; Pompey's infantry amounted to forty-five thousand, Cæsar's only to twenty-one thousand; the disparity in cavalry was still greater, Pompey had seven thousand, and Cæsar but one thousand.

The great superiority of the enemies' horse filled Cæsar with alarm; but knowing that Pompey's cavalry was chiefly composed of young noblemen, proud of the brilliancy of their armour and the beauty of their persons, he selected six cohorts of light infantry to fight in the ranks of the cavalry, and ordered them to aim at the faces of their foes. Pompey's measures exhibited far less skill: he ordered his troops to wait for the enemies' charge, and thus lost the advantage of all the enthusiasm, excitement, and impulse, which naturally belongs to the assailants. The charge of cavalry, with which Pompey hoped almost instantly to have decided the victory, was the immediate cause of his defeat. The youthful cavaliers, at the signal to advance, impetuously hurried forward;

Rushing, their gallant squadrons came,  
 With spears in rest and hearts on flame,  
 That panted for the shock !  
 With blazing crests and banners spread,  
 And trumpet clang and clamour dread,  
 The wide plain thunder'd 'neath their tread,  
 Echoed from hill and rock.

But in mid career they were encountered by the six cohorts, whose novel mode of fighting spread instant confusion through their lines. The wounds in the face disfigured the beauty of which they were proud ; life and honour were less dear to them than their personal appearance, they turned their horses' heads and fled in dismay. The cohorts thus victorious immediately fell on the unguarded flank of the hostile line. Pompey, utterly disheartened by the flight of his cavalry, on which he had placed his entire reliance, fled to his camp, and his army, thus left without a leader, was soon completely routed. The camp of Pompey was then stormed, and that general narrowly escaped being made prisoner. He fled to the sea-side, embarked on board one of his own ships, and sought refuge in Egypt, where he was treacherously assassinated. Never was a more decisive victory gained ; with the loss of only two hundred and thirty men, Cæsar had slain fifteen thousand of the enemy, and taken twenty-four thousand prisoners. It is gratifying to add that the use the conqueror made of the victory proved that he merited his good fortune ; he treated his prisoners with the utmost kindness, and lowered the rate of taxation in the conquered provinces.

Having secured Greece, Cæsar hastened to pursue Pompey, of whose fate he was ignorant ; on reaching Egypt, he learned the tragical fate of his great rival, and soon after the head of Pompey was sent to him as

an acceptable present by the Egyptian government. Cæsar turned with disgust from the horrid sight ; he ordered that the remains of the great general should be honourably interred, erected a magnificent monument to his memory, and to show his detestation of Egyptian treachery, founded near the spot a temple sacred to "Nemesis," the goddess of retributive justice.

Cæsar's next care was to settle the succession to the Egyptian crown ; seduced by the charms of Cleopatra, he zealously supported her pretensions, and became thus involved in a dangerous war with the partisans of her brother Ptolemy. Cæsar had brought only a few troops with him ; he was shut up in Alexandria, and closely besieged by a numerous army of the Egyptians. From these difficulties he extricated himself by consummate skill and valour ; he placed Cleopatra on the Egyptian throne, and then proceeded through Syria to remedy the disasters that had occurred during his absence in Lesser Asia. Pharnaces, King of Pontus, had defeated the Roman governor, Domitius, but on the arrival of Cæsar was so easily subdued, that the general's account of the victory to his friends at home consisted only of three words, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*, "I came, I saw, I conquered."

Cæsar returned to Rome, covered with glory, but was again summoned to renew the war in Africa, where Scipio and the celebrated Cato had assembled the shattered relics of Pompey's party. This war was but of short duration ; Scipio, having rashly precipitated an engagement, was totally defeated, and his supporters, Afranius and the Numidian king Juba, shared in the same calamity. Cato with undaunted resolution determined to maintain himself in Utica, but finding that his associates did not share his courage, he committed sui-

cide rather than witness what he regarded as the ruin of his country.

On his return to Rome, Cæsar indulged the citizens with the spectacle of a splendid triumphal procession; this was followed by a public entertainment, in which twenty-two thousand tables were spread for the use of the people; and at the same time large donations were distributed to the soldiers. In the midst of these rejoicings, he was summoned to undertake his last war against the sons of Pompey in Spain. The decisive battle was fought at Munda, and Cæsar confessed that he had never before encountered equal dangers. Finally he obtained a decisive victory, and the elder of Pompey's sons was slain, but it was a victory which redounded little to his honour, and no applause attended his subsequent triumph.

Being now undisputed master of the Roman empire, Cæsar projected many great enterprises whose execution would have required an existence measured by centuries. They were all useful, but some of them clearly impracticable. While thus meditating in what manner he might best immortalize his name, a conspiracy was formed to take away his life, and the chief sharers in the plot were persons who owed their own lives to his clemency. But before this plot was perfected, he effected a reformation of less difficulty, but of more importance than the others which he meditated; we mean a scientific arrangement of the Roman calendar, which had been hitherto in a state of disgraceful confusion. Even this improvement was made a means of rendering him unpopular by his enemies; they declared that it was an assumption of royalty. Cicero, the celebrated orator, contrived to exhibit his wit and his opposition to Cæsar, by a merry jest on the occasion:

being told that the constellation *Lyra* would appear the next morning, he replied; "To be sure it will, there is an edict for it." Whether Cæsar was weak enough to desire the title of *king*, when he already possessed all the substantial of kingly power, may be fairly questioned; but there is no doubt that his friends and flatterers believed that he would be pleased with the title. They acted in utter ignorance of popular feelings; with a mob the name is the thing, and the shadow is the substance. He might, under the title of Consul, have exercised despotic power without provoking opposition, while general hostility would have existed against the best constitutional government if administered by a ruler with the title of king.

The jealousy felt on account of Cæsar's supposed anxiety to encircle his brows with a diadem, appears to have been rather the pretext, than the real cause that led many to join in the conspiracy. On reading the catalogue of those who had determined his death, it is impossible to avoid perceiving that they were all persons who had fair chances of obtaining political eminence under a Republic, but who felt that their ambitious hopes were frustrated by the domination of Cæsar. The most remarkable of the conspirators were Brutus and Cassius; the latter had little to recommend him; his character for integrity was far from being above suspicion, and he was an avowed scorner of every moral and religious principle. Brutus was of a very different character; he was said to carry virtue to an excess, and to have adopted the strict principles of the Stoics, who asserted that the slightest deviation from rectitude was as criminal as the greatest. Brought up under the eye of Cato, who had preferred death to witnessing the power of Cæsar, he was naturally an object



of suspicion to the ruling party; Cæsar, however, persuaded himself that he had conquered Brutus by kindness, and refused to attend to the hourly cautions of his zealous friends.

The plans of the conspirators were soon matured, not without being suspected by some of Cæsar's party, who in vain warned him of his danger. The superstitious historians of the period relate many idle stories of the omens and prodigies that predicted his destruction; the greatest prodigy of all was, that a man who had made himself despotic over a free constitution could be persuaded that destruction was not impending over him at every moment, and that treason only waited to avail itself of a favourable opportunity.

The day appointed for the assassination was the Ides of March, when it was Cæsar's duty to appear in the Senate. A remarkable dream, which his wife had on the preceding night, had almost caused him to postpone the meeting, but one of the conspirators, Decimus Brutus, coming in by accident, ridiculed all belief in dreams, and persuaded him to proceed. On his road to the Senate, two persons, who had discovered the plot, vainly tried to declare his danger; the paper given by one was handed unread to the secretary; the other could not get near the intended victim in consequence of the crowd.

When Cæsar entered the house, the senate rose to do him honour. As soon as he had taken his seat, Cimber, as had been previously arranged, came up to solicit his brother's recall from exile, and the other conspirators approached as if to second the request. Cæsar, as had been probably anticipated, refused the favour; and Cimber seized him by the robe as if to urge his petition more earnestly, but in reality to hold him down. Casca

was the first to strike, but Cæsar beat down his sword ; all the conspirators then rushed forward, and when Cæsar saw Brutus among the number, he exclaimed, "Thou too, my son !" then covering himself with his robe, he fell pierced by three-and-twenty wounds. His murder was subsequently avenged by Augustus and Antony, not one of those who shared in the guilt died by a natural death.

The character and conduct of Cæsar varied at different periods of his life ; like Cromwell and Napoleon, he commenced his political career by advocating the wildest principles of unrestricted freedom, and ended by establishing complete despotism. He had more of "the milk of human kindness" than usually belongs to conquerors, and less dissimulation than is commonly possessed by unsuccessful statesmen. But he too frequently permitted ambition to hurry him into actions which cannot be defended. The great civil war was provoked by the violence of the aristocratic party, and Cæsar in the beginning only acted upon the defensive. Had he after his victory secured to his countrymen a free constitution, he would have been handed down to posterity as the first of heroes and the best of patriots. But though we cannot bestow unqualified praise on his career, it is impossible not to feel affected by the perusal of his unmerited murder, with pity for his fate, and a sorrowful sense of the vicissitudes of human affairs.

O mortal, mortal state ! and what art thou ?  
 Ev'n in thy glory comes the changing shade,  
 And makes thee, like a vision, fade away !  
 And then misfortune takes the moisten'd sponge  
 And clean effaces all the picture out.

## HEROD.

BORN B. C. 72—DIED A. D. 3.

THE Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, remained subject to the Persians, until the conquests of Alexander established the Macedonian empire in Asia. When that conqueror died, and left his dominions to be shared amongst his generals, Judæa fell to the lot of the Seleucidæ, the rulers of Syria, from whom it was sometimes wrested by the kings of Egypt. The cruelty of the Syrian monarchs drove the Jews into a series of insurrections, called in history the wars of the Maccabees, which ended by the establishment of Jewish independence, under a race of sovereigns, named the Asmonean princes. During this agitated period, the Idumeans became proselytes to the Hebrew religion, and of course closely connected with the Jewish people; they were, however, regarded as a separate race, and not permitted to identify themselves with the children of Abraham.

After their return to Palestine, a remarkable change was wrought in the character of the Jewish people; the law, for the neglect of which their fathers had so severely suffered, became the object of their enthusiastic veneration; but unfortunately they were persuaded by artful priests and designing Rabbis to extend the same reverence to human traditions. The corruption of Judaism by the Pharisaic institutions was so similar to the corruption of Christianity by Papal innovations in the dark ages, that one may fairly be used to illustrate the other. Both, it will be found, originated in ages of ignorance, when cruel wars and devastations had almost effaced every trace of civilization. The object of both

corruptions was to increase priestly power, to place human reason under the thralldom of ecclesiastical authority, and to fix restraint on the free exercise of the judgment. The most efficient agents in deteriorating Judaism were the Rabbis, a class of men very similar to the preaching friars in the church of Rome. Both made void the commandments of God by their traditions. The parallel even holds good in the attempts made to effect a reformation; the exertions of Hillel to bring back his countrymen to the pure Law of Moses were supported by all the liberal, enlightened, and learned Jews; and during the middle ages all the learning and all the intelligence of Europe was banded in opposition to Papal usurpation. We might be surprised that the Jewish nation could have been induced, by a vulgar fanatic like Shammai, to embrace "the grievous burthen" of Rabbinism, had we not in our own days seen an entire nation madly protesting against freedom of conscience, and taking up arms for the purpose of restoring the tender mercies of the Inquisition. After the defeat of Hillel's efforts, the Jews became divided into philosophic infidels and superstitious devotees; such too would have been the consequence in England had the cruel Mary succeeded in re-establishing Popery; for such is the case in France, in Spain, in Italy, and in every country where brutal ignorance combined with brutal force succeeded in checking the salutary progress of the Reformation.

The disputes between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the last of the Asmonean princes, were closely connected with the religious dissensions that distracted Judæa. Aristobulus had been aided by the Sadducees to seize the throne; the Pharisees were anxious to maintain the superior claims of his elder brother. Hyrcanus was a

man of weak mind, and would probably not have been roused to any vigorous exertion, but for the influence of his friend, the crafty Antipas or Antipater, an Idumean nobleman. By his means Hyrcanus was restored to his dominions, but Antipater really possessed all the power of the state. The able minister had several children, of whom Herod, the second son, seemed best fitted to tread in the steps of his father.

In the great civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Antipater was found on the successful side, and established a powerful claim to the gratitude of the conqueror. He was in consequence enabled to make his son Phasael governor of Jerusalem, and to procure for Herod the important province of Galilee. The province was at this time devastated by a ferocious band of Jewish robbers, probably connected with the fanatic sect of the Zealots; Herod promptly marched against them, attacked their troops by surprise, and having made the greater part of the banditti prisoners, put them to death without the form of a trial.

Shammai and his followers, though pleased by their triumph over the Pharisees, were by no means satisfied with the rule of Antipater; they regarded the proselyte as a stranger, and deemed that "the chosen people" were dishonoured by their submission to a Gentile. Herod's conduct afforded them a pretext which they did not neglect, especially as they regarded the robberies of the Zealots in Galilee as little, if at all, worse than a legalized "spoiling of the Egyptians." They procured from the reluctant Hyrcanus an order that Herod should appear to take his trial before the Sanhedrim for the crime of an unauthorized massacre.

Herod obeyed the summons, but in such a manner that his appearance was rather an aggravation of his

guilt. He came in his purple robes of state, attended by a numerous and well-armed retinue; he took his seat in the assembly with the air of a sovereign, rather than a criminal. Struck with awe, none of the senators dared to speak, until Shammai filled with the courage of enthusiasm rose and denounced the insult offered to the court in no measured terms. Such was the effect of his speech, that Herod would certainly have been condemned, had not Hyrcanus in alarm adjourned the assembly. Advised by his friends, Herod withdrew during the night, and fled to the Syrian court, whence he sent to the Sanhedrim an insolent message of defiance. He even raised an army with the design of marching against Jerusalem, and taking deadly revenge on his enemies, but he was induced by the remonstrances of his father and brother to relinquish such dangerous intentions.

The civil war between the murderers and avengers of Cæsar involved Judæa in new troubles, which were not a little increased by the assassination of Antipater, whom Malichus poisoned at a banquet. Herod for a time disguised his resentment, until he had thrown Malichus off his guard; he invited him to supper, and had him murdered while departing from the entertainment. The feeble Hyrcanus made a weak attempt to free himself from the thralldom in which he was held by the sons of Antipater; but he was forced to submit, and purchase a reconciliation by giving his daughter, the beautiful Mariamne, as a wife to Herod.

The success of Antony and Augustus menaced ruin to the power of Herod, who had been a zealous partisan of Brutus and Cassius; deputies were sent by the Jews to accuse the sons of Antipater, but Herod had made his peace before their arrival, and his authority was

strengthened by the very circumstance which threatened its subversion. The Pharisaic Jews were filled with indignation, and at length took up arms, under the command of Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus. Antigonus was supported by the king of Parthia, and was thus enabled to invade Judæa at the head of a considerable force. By a pretended anxiety to terminate the dispute amicably, the Jews and Parthians contrived to get both Phasaël and Hyrcanus into their power. Herod was too cunning to be duped, and refused to place any confidence in their overtures. He fought his way through the hostile lines until he reached Idumea, where he secured his family in the impregnable fortress of Massada; and thence he proceeded towards Rome through Arabia and Egypt. While on the road, he heard that Phasaël, to escape the cruelties of the enemy, had committed suicide, and that Hyrcanus had been mutilated to incapacitate him for the priestly office.

Herod was received at Rome as a prince rather than a fugitive; through the influence of Antony and Augustus he was nominated King of Judæa by the Roman Senate, and instantly set out to secure his new dominions. On his arrival at Ptolemais he hastily assembled an army, and marched to the relief of his family besieged in Massada. They had been reduced to great straits during his absence, and therefore hailed his return with extravagant joy. A fierce war ensued between Herod and Antigonus, which ended in the total defeat of the latter. Jerusalem was taken by storm, and Antigonus made prisoner: he was sent in chains to Antony, by whom he was put to death with cruel tortures; and with him ended the illustrious line of the Asmonean princes. Herod remained the undisputed sovereign of the Jews; thus had "the sceptre departed from Judah,"

and one of the predicted signs of 'the immediate coming of the Messiah been completely fulfilled.

The ambition of Herod had been fully gratified, but still he was not happy. The attachment of the Jews to the family of Hyrcanus, and their detestation of an Idumean ruler, gave him perpetual uneasiness, and the means he took to remedy the evil only added to its strength. He cruelly oppressed his reluctant subjects, and procured the murder of his youthful brother-in-law, Aristobulus the son of Hyrcanus; a crime which was soon followed by the murder of Hyrcanus himself. Alexandra, the mother of the first victim, and the wife of the second, used her influence with Cleopatra to have Herod summoned to answer for his crimes before Mark Antony. Previous to his departure, Herod gave orders to his uncle Joseph, whom he had appointed governor in his absence, to slay his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra, if he should be condemned by the Roman triumvir. Joseph, in an evil hour, revealed the fatal secret to Mariamne, who reproached her husband on his safe return with his cruel design. Salome, the wicked sister of Herod, envied and hated the amiable Mariamne; she laboured, not without success, to fill her brother's mind with jealousy, declaring that Joseph would not have betrayed to the queen a matter of so much importance, if a criminal intercourse did not exist between them. Herod at once put his uncle to death, but his affection for Mariamne was too great to allow him as yet to offer her any violence.

While Herod was engaged in a successful war with the Arabians, a new revolution in the Roman world again threatened the stability of his throne. Antony, of whose cause Herod had been a zealous supporter, was completely overthrown at the battle of Actium, and



Augustus Cæsar became master of the empire. Compelled by this change to visit Rome, Herod entrusted Mariamne and Alexandra to the care of a confidential officer named Sohemus, to whom the commands given to Joseph were repeated. Prevailed upon by the earnest prayers of Mariamne, Sohemus confessed the orders he had received, and Mariamne from that moment conceived an insuperable hatred of her cruel husband.

His usual good fortune attended Herod; he not only appeased the wrath of Augustus, but was taken into his favour, and he returned home with large accessions both of honour and favour. His reception by Mariamne roused all his former suspicions, and rekindled his evil passions; she overwhelmed him with reproaches for the murder of her father and brother, and for the cruel commands he had given respecting herself. The vindictive rage of Herod long struggled with his affections; at length, overcome by the artifices of Salome, he ordered his beautiful wife to be executed. Mariamne met her fate with the modest fortitude which innocence could alone inspire, and with her Herod's peace of mind perished for ever.

Scarcely had the queen been slain, when Herod's bosom became a prey to remorse; his reason became affected; he called aloud on Mariamne as if she still lived, and ordered her to be summoned by his attendants. The agitation of his mind brought on a painful disease, which aggravated the natural cruelty of his disposition; the slightest suspicion was with him equivalent to the strongest proof of guilt, and by his commands many of the best in the land fell daily beneath the stroke of the executioner.

But there was one circumstance which displeased the Jews even more than his cruelties; this was his endea-

vours to introduce heathenish customs into Jerusalem. He built a theatre in the city and an amphitheatre outside the walls, where he exhibited those barbarous shows of gladiators and contests with wild beasts, which were so customary and so disgraceful at Rome. A conspiracy was formed to rid the country of the tyrant, but the plot was discovered by one of Herod's spies, and the conspirators arrested. They were publicly put to death with the most excruciating tortures, which so maddened the Jews, that they rushed upon the informer, and tore him to pieces. Herod, enraged by such an insult to his authority, endeavoured, by torturing all he suspected of participation or cognizance, to discover the perpetrators; he even ordered women to be whipped and tortured on the rack. Dreading that such cruelty would provoke a general revolt, he fortified Jerusalem, rebuilt Samaria, and erected strong castles in various parts of Judæa. But he owed his safety to the dispensations of Providence more than to his own precautions. A cruel famine devastated Judæa, and this was succeeded by a contagious pestilence. The diligence which Herod used to supply his subjects with food, re-established his popularity, and changed for a time the hatred of the Jews into admiration.

But this calm was of brief duration; Herod again provoked the nation by new acts of tyranny, and vainly hoped to conciliate them by erecting magnificent structures. Dreading, however, the effects of the popular resentment, he resolved to court their favour by conciliating their prejudices, and for this purpose proposed to rebuild the Temple. The design was hailed with enthusiasm, and the king hastened to put it into execution. The sanctuary was erected in a year and a half; the rest of the edifice was finished in about eight years

more; but as there were additional courts built by Herod's successors, and other improvements made, the entire edifice was not completed until after the lapse of forty-six years.

Whilst the building of the temple was in progress, Herod visited Rome, where the two sons he had by his beloved Mariamne resided for the purpose of receiving their education. Pleased with the progress the young men had made, Herod brought them back with him to their native land, and gave them an establishment suited to their birth. The Jews gladly welcomed the last representatives of their ancient princes, and thus provoked the wakeful jealousy of their father; at the same time the young men themselves imprudently provoked the hostility of Salomé, by threatening to revenge the arts which she had used to procure the murder of their mother. This artful woman persuaded Herod that he was endangered by the ambition of his son; and prevailed upon him to bring to his court Antipater, a son from whom he had been long estranged, as a rival and counterpoise to the sons of Mariamne.

Antipater possessed a more than ordinary share of craft and malice; he zealously supported the insinuations of Salome, and at the same time flattered Herod with professions of the most devoted adherence. The exertions of both succeeded so well, that Herod declared Antipater heir to the crown, and accused his sons by Mariamne of high treason before Augustus. A very brief examination sufficed to convince the emperor of the utter futility of the charge, and he laboured, with partial success, to reconcile the father to his innocent children; but when once the tender ties of domestic affection are broken, they never reunite again. A very

few months elapsed before the infamous Salome, and her worthy associate Antipater, alarmed Herod with the intelligence of new plots, and induced him to solicit from Augustus liberty to bring his sons to trial. The emperor yielded a reluctant consent, and they were brought before a general council of the Roman prefects in western Asia. To the utter astonishment of the whole court, Herod pleaded his own cause against his children in person, and obtained by his authority a sentence of condemnation. Some of his most steadfast friends warned him of the designs of Antipater, and besought him to spare the innocent children of the murdered Mariamne; but all remonstrances were vain, the unfortunate princes were strangled by the orders of their father at Sebaste, and afterwards interred in the sepulchre of their Asmonean ancestors.

Remorse soon seized on the mind of the tyrant; he began to pay marked attention to the children that the elder of his murdered sons had left behind, and thus filled Antipater with alarm, lest he should be induced to change the succession. To save himself from being thus stripped of the fruit of his crimes, he entered into a plot against his father's life, which accidentally failed, and was soon afterwards revealed to Herod.

In the midst of the anxiety, a new and wondrous event filled the king's mind with fresh alarm; "there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him." The birth of our Lord and Saviour thus wondrously announced, alarmed Herod; he dreaded the appearance of a temporal sovereign, and endeavoured by means of "the wise men" to gain possession of the dreaded infant.

The warning voice of God directed the wise men to quit Judæa by another way, and at the same time commanded Joseph to flee with the infant Saviour into Egypt. Herod, finding that he had been disobeyed by the wise men, sought to quiet his fears, by murdering all the children in Bethlehem under the age of two years, having learned that the prophets had pointed out that town as the birth-place of the future Messiah.

Scarcely had this crime been perpetrated, when he received satisfactory evidence of the treasons committed by Antipater, and he resolved to bring him immediately to trial. The evidence was too conclusive to be resisted, and the sentence was pronounced. The trial, however, was scarcely concluded, when Herod was seized with a lingering and incurable disease. His agonies increased his cruelty; he sentenced some of the Zealots who had raised a riot to be burned alive; he ordered the chief of the Jewish nobility to be arrested; and having learned that Antipater was rejoicing at the prospect of his death, he commanded him to be instantly executed. Five days afterwards the tyrant expired; almost with his last breath he ordered all his prisoners to be slain, in order that the Jews should have occasion for lamentation; but his executors refused to perform the cruel command.

We have detailed the life of this execrable tyrant at greater length than its private interest claims, but it is intimately connected with the Gospel history, and serves to explain the social and political condition of the Jews at the time of our Redeemer's advent.

## TITUS.

BORN A. D. 40—DIED A. D. 81.

THE subversion of the Republic by Julius Cæsar was fatal to the freedom of Rome; the civil wars destroyed all the materials of a free constitution, and the state fell under the despotic power of the emperors. The mild rule of Augustus Cæsar reconciled the people to the change, but under the dreadful tyranny of his successors, the people bitterly lamented the loss of their liberty. They bore successively the iron rule of the gloomy Tiberius and his infamous minister Sejanus; of the petulant Caligula, who made murders and tortures his favourite amusement; of the imbecile Claudius and his profligate spouse Messalina; of Nero, a monster of iniquity; and they suffered severely during the troubled reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, while a licentious soldiery bestowed the imperial crown at their pleasure. The accession of Vespasian gave a temporary respite to these calamities, and promised a new era of tranquillity and happiness, from the hopes inspired by the virtues of his son Titus.

The youth of Titus was spent at the imperial court in the company of young Britannicus, a prince poisoned by order of Nero. Titus is said to have shared in the banquet, when the fatal dose was administered to his friend, and to have narrowly escaped the same destruction. Vespasian bestowed all possible care on the education of his son, and procured for him the best preceptors that Rome could supply. The young student devoted himself assiduously to the cultivation of poetry and rhetoric; we are told that some of his poems possessed great merit, but they have all perished, and we

can place but little confidence in the criticisms on the literary productions of an emperor. The fame of his eloquence rests on a less dubious basis, for his orations were heard with applause while he yet occupied a private station.

Like most of the young Roman nobility, he early entered into military service, and made several campaigns both in Germany and Britain with great honour. On his return to Rome he devoted his attention to the law, and was employed in several important causes. But the high military fame of his father led his ambition away from the quiet of civil life, and he quitted the bar for the army. Having held the office of quæstor, or military treasurer, to the universal satisfaction both of the soldiers and the officers, he was advanced to the command of a legion, and allowed to accompany his father to the Jewish war in the capacity of lieutenant. Before the war was concluded, Vespasian was raised to the empire, and the task of subjugating the rebellious Jews devolved upon Titus. The capture of Jerusalem was effected after the devoted city had been the scene of horrors to which history furnishes no parallel. It was levelled to the ground, not one stone of its magnificent Temple was left standing upon another, and the awful punishment which Christ had predicted to the guilty nation was fulfilled to the letter. During this war Titus in a striking manner displayed the tenderness of his fraternal affection, by endeavouring to reconcile his brother Domitian to their common father ; for Vespasian was justly displeased with the vices which even thus early appeared in the character of Domitian.

The following is an extract from the remonstrance which Titus addressed to his father on this occasion. "It is but just that you should display towards your

own son, a mild and gentle spirit free from all prejudice. Neither fleets nor legions afford such powerful support to the imperial dignity as a numerous issue in the imperial house. Time diminishes the number of our friends; they desert us either to follow fortune, or because we are unable to gratify their desires. But from those of our own blood, we may always promise ourselves ready assistance and unshaken fidelity. In prosperity many will offer themselves as our associates; but in adversity our kindred alone will bear us company. Even between brothers concord and unanimity will not prove lasting, if their common parent does not show them an example of domestic affection." Vespasian is said to have been greatly affected by this demonstration, but the continued profligacy of Domitian rendered it ineffectual.

After the reduction of Jerusalem, Titus went to Alexandria, where he assisted at the installation of the sacred ox, Apis, the great object of national worship among the superstitious Egyptians. Having worn a diadem on this solemn occasion, it was insinuated that he designed to usurp his father's throne, and a secret audience which he gave to the Parthian ambassadors greatly tended to strengthen the injurious suspicion. Having at length heard that such a false and calumnious report was circulated, he resolved at once to refute it, and immediately departed for Italy. He was received at Rome with the utmost enthusiasm, and his conquest of Judæa was celebrated by one of the most magnificent triumphs ever displayed in the city.

The private life of Titus after his return from the east is said to have been sullied by many and great vices. The Romans were especially displeased by his attachment to Berenice, the daughter of king Agrippa,



who was the last monarch of the Herodian line. But these errors were but as the passing clouds over the solar disc, obscuring for a brief space its lustre, only that the subsequent outburst of its meridian glory should be the more striking and impressive.

After the death of his father, Titus ascended the imperial throne, and thenceforward conducted himself with so much clemency, moderation, and justice, that he was deservedly called "The delight of the human race." It is recorded that being told one evening that he had not done a kind action during the day, he exclaimed with every mark of sincere sorrow, "Alas! my friends, I have lost a day!" To gratify the people, he dismissed the beautiful Berenice, and in spite of her tears, banished her not only from the city but from Italy. Though his brother Domitian disturbed the tranquillity of his reign, by claiming a share in the government; the emperor would not treat him harshly, but endeavoured to soothe him by the most affectionate remonstrances. The race of spies and informers, which had flourished so much under previous emperors, received no encouragement from the virtuous Titus; he even pardoned those who conspired against his life, and forbade the prosecution of libels against his dignity.

In the first year of this reign occurred the memorable eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which produced such dreadful calamities in southern Italy, having overwhelmed the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, with other places of minor importance. Pliny, the celebrated naturalist, anxious to investigate the dreadful phenomenon, incautiously approached too near, and fell a victim. Titus exerted himself with the utmost diligence to relieve the sufferers by this awful calamity; the property of those who had perished without heirs devolved

by law to the emperor, but he ordered that the entire should be devoted to the relief of the poor, and the reparation of the cities. While Titus was in Campania, personally superintending the distribution of his bounty, he received intelligence of a new calamity ; a formidable conflagration burst forth in Rome, and raged for three days before its progress could be checked. It reduced to ashes many public and private buildings, amongst others a great part of the Capitol, Pompey's theatre, and the magnificent library of Augustus. Titus generously took the entire loss upon himself, and repaired all the damages out of the imperial revenues. The fire was soon followed by a plague in which great multitudes perished.

The emperor's exertions in these trying circumstances were gratefully acknowledged by the senate and people ; ingenuity was exhausted in devising new honours to his name. But he lived not to enjoy them. While witnessing the games in the magnificent amphitheatre that bears his name, he was suddenly taken ill, and was ordered by the physicians to try the effects of a change of air. He had scarcely reached his paternal estate when he expired, justly regretted by the entire empire. A little before his death, he is said to have declared that there was but one action of his life which he wished undone ; if, as is generally supposed, he alluded to the nomination of Domitian as his successor, the Roman people had good cause to join in the wish, for a more execrable tyrant never disgraced a throne than the brother and successor of the virtuous Titus.

## CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

BORN A. D. 274—DIED A. D. 337.

THE great extent of the Roman empire, and the dangers to which its wide frontiers were exposed, induced the emperor Diocletian to make a division of his unwieldy authority. He, therefore, chose a principal associate, to whom he gave the title of Augustus, and two others of inferior rank, who were styled Cæsars. One of the latter was Constantius, surnamed Chlorus, from the paleness of his complexion, a general of high military renown, and universally beloved for his mild and amiable disposition. The other nominations were less wise, Maximian the Augustus, and Galerius the second Cæsar, had no eminent qualifications to justify their selection; they were both men of violent passions and depraved habits. Constantius was appointed to manage the affairs of Germany, Gaul, and Britain, the latter of which countries had revolted from the Romans. It was subdued again by Constantius, and soon after he and Galerius were elevated to the rank of Emperors by the resignation of Diocletian and Maximian. Galerius assumed the nomination of the two Cæsars, and selected two creatures of his own.

The appointment was generally displeasing to the empire; for it had been expected that Constantine, the son of Constantius, would have been appointed. This young prince was the son of Helena, a woman of inferior birth, whom Constantius had divorced soon after his elevation to the purple. Constantine, indignant at the repudiation of his mother, entered into the service of the emperor Diocletian, under whom he served with great reputation against the Germans, the Goths, the

Sarmatians, and the Persians. When Constantius became emperor, he anxiously sought for a reconciliation with his gallant son, the fame of whose exploits was spread throughout all the Roman dominions. Constantine shared his father's anxiety, but was long prevented from paying him a visit by the jealous watchfulness of Galerius. At length he extorted a reluctant permission from the tyrant, and commenced his journey on that very night. Galerius, on learning his departure, became furious, and gave instant orders for a close pursuit; but the speed with which Constantine journeyed, and his prudent precautions, enabled him to escape from this danger.

Constantine joined his father as he was about to sail for Britain, and aided him in his wars against the Picts and Caledonians. Soon after the termination of these wars, Constantius died at York, where he was honourably interred by his son Constantine, who succeeded him in the imperial dignity.

Constantine was unwilling to take the title of Emperor until he had consulted his colleagues; but the soldiers would not brook the delay. Galerius was very indignant when he learned the intelligence, but was persuaded by his friends to moderate his wrath, and give Constantine the secondary title of Cæsar.

Maxentius, the son of Maximian, was less prudent; he declared himself emperor, and persuaded his father to quit his retirement and become his colleague. Galerius declared war against the usurpers, and Maximian fortified himself by entering into close alliance with Constantine, to whom he gave his daughter Fausta in marriage. Galerius invaded Italy, but was forced to retire with great loss, and his colleague Severus was slain. He nominated Licinius, an aged debauchee, to

the vacant dignity, and stigmatized all others who had assumed the imperial title as traitors.

When Maxentius summoned his father to share in his government, he expected that the old man would be contented with the name and shadow of power. But in this hope he was disappointed; Maximian made some fruitless efforts to depose his son, and when baffled, retired first to Constantine and then to Galerius. He even made an attempt to revive the ambition of Diocletian; but the ex-emperor peremptorily refused to exchange his present tranquil life for the toils and the cares of empire. He returned to the court of Constantine, and began to plot against the life of that prince: his first attempts were discovered and pardoned; but being soon detected in a more atrocious conspiracy, he was deservedly executed. The death of Galerius only hastened the contests in which the rival Emperors were preparing to engage; they had hitherto joined in acknowledging him as lord paramount, though they yielded him no obedience, but there was now no person who had an uncontested claim even to nominal superiority. We pass over the many minor sufferings to which Italy and the provinces were subjected during this period of confusion, and hasten to the event which first gave promise of a beneficial revolution, the war between Maxentius and Constantine.

When war was declared, Constantine assembled his army in southern Gaul, preparatory to his invading Italy. Here he is said to have felt some doubt as to the god to whom his prayers and vows should be directed, and to have had his doubts removed by a miraculous manifestation which convinced him of the truth of Christianity. A brilliant light appeared above the sun, in the form of a cross, with the inscription, "In this

overcome." On the same night a vision revealed to the emperor the meaning of the appearance, and directed him to assume the mysterious symbol as his cognizance on his standard.

The truth of this anecdote has been contested with ludicrous acrimony both by its assertors and opponents ; because in fact its truth or falsehood is a matter wholly unimportant. Whether Constantine was converted by an external sign or an internal impression is indifferent ; in either case we recognize the working of the Omnipotent ; and we regard a miracle in the universe of mind as at least equal in its nature and importance to a miracle in the universe of matter. The vision we believe to have been seen by Constantine alone ; it may not have been real, but its impression was ; and it is indisputable that its effects were manifested in Constantine's conduct. He became a professor of Christianity, and his example was followed by the greater part of the imperial family.

Constantine having passed the Alps was attacked by the army of Maxentius, near the city Augusta Taurinorum, now Turin ; he gained a decisive victory, whose consequences made him master of all the country between the Alps and the Po. A second victory was followed by the reduction of Verona, and of all the country north of Rome.

Terrified by these defeats, Maxentius shut himself up in the city, but was at length duped by the responses of the soothsayers to venture an engagement. The battle was fought at a place called The Red Rocks, about nine miles from the city ; some of the Italian legions, weary of the tyranny of Maxentius, fled without striking a blow ; the Prætorian guards and the cavalry made a fiercer resistance, but were finally overwhelmed by numbers, and completely routed. Maxentius attempted

to make his escape across a bridge of boats which had been thrown over the Tiber; but the weight of the multitude broke down the bridge, and he was drowned with a great number of his followers. The tyrant's body was found the next day; the head was struck off by order of Constantine, and triumphantly borne into that city of which he had been so long the terror and the curse.

Constantine used his victory with great moderation; he rejected the counsels of those who wished that the axe should reap the harvest which the sword had spared, and published a decree of amnesty. A more important measure was the repeal of all the sanguinary edicts against Christianity, which had been in force since the reign of Diocletian, and granted to the clergy immunity from taxation.

While Constantine was thus employed in Italy, a confederation of the Germanic tribes called Franks, or "free men," invaded Gaul, and committed frightful havoc. The emperor hastened to succour the province; he attacked the barbarians by surprise, and defeated them with great slaughter. According to the cruel custom of the times, which Christianity had not yet abrogated, he ordered the captives to be exposed to wild beasts, during the games which he displayed to celebrate his victory. He commemorated his triumph, and displayed his gratitude for divine protection much more worthily, by granting several privileges to the African churches, which had suffered severely from the persecutions of Maxentius. Licinius, who had married Constantine's sister, had in the mean time conquered his rival Maximin, and thus the number of emperors was reduced to two. Mutual jealousies soon arose between Constantine and Licinius, which soon led to a new war.

Licinius was severely defeated both in Pannonia and Thrace; he purchased peace by the cession of several important provinces, and then sank back into indolence. His rival, on the other hand, directed his march against the barbarians who threatened the frontiers of the empire, and gained several important advantages over the Sarmatians and the Goths. Consequently when Licinius renewed the war, the troops of Constantine were vigorous and well disciplined, while those of his rival were for the most part raw levies. The armies met on the plains of Adrianople, and Licinius was completely defeated. He made submissions, but soon after renewed the war, was still more decisively overthrown, and made prisoner. He was put to death by the emperor's order; an act which was certainly unjust and unnecessary. Constantine, being now sole master of the empire, issued several edicts for the legal establishment of the Christian religion, and the suppression of all idolatrous worship. On his return to Rome, he found the people, naturally fond of shows and spectacles, by no means pleased with the substitution of the simple rites of Christianity for the splendid ceremonials of Paganism. Wearied by the remonstrances, the lampoons, and the insults of the Romans, he quitted the city with a firm resolution never to return, and resolved to give a new capital to the empire.

The place selected for the metropolis of the Roman world was Byzantium, and if natural advantages be alone considered, no better choice could have been made. Situated on the Thracian Bosphorus, the narrow strait between Europe and Asia, which connects the Black sea with the great inlets from the Mediterranean, it seemed well calculated to be the metropolis of two divisions of the globe, and the great centre of their com-



merce. The emperor expended immense sums on the improvement of the chosen city, which, after his own name, he called Constantinople. But while the works were in progress, domestic circumstances occurred, which darkened the rest of the emperor's life, and blighted for ever his character with posterity. Fausta, the second wife of Constantine, a woman of the most profligate habits, and utterly devoid of moral principle, was very jealous of her step-son Crispus, who, she feared, would exclude her children from the empire. By artful insinuations she led Constantine to believe that his son Crispus, and his nephew Licinius, had engaged in a plot against his life. Yielding to his rage, the emperor ordered both the princes to be put to death without trial, or any opportunity of being heard in their own defence. The falsehood of the accusation was soon discovered, and several other crimes of Fausta detected; she was suffocated in a hot bath by order of her husband, and all suspected of having shared her crime were privately poisoned or publicly executed. The cruelty of the emperor alienated for a time the affections of his subjects, and a great part of his life was passed in a constant dread of plots and conspiracies.

Having completed his new city, Constantine entered it with great splendour, and proclaimed it the future seat of his government. The magnificence of the Byzantine court was celebrated throughout all the known world, and ambassadors came from the most remote countries of the East, to court his alliance and protection. Anxious to obtain some relief from the overwhelming cares of government, he divided the empire into several large provinces, over which his sons and nephews were placed as governors. They had not been

long established in their several prefectures, when the emperor was seized with a disease which the physicians pronounced mortal. He now requested to receive the sacrament of baptism, which from some unknown cause he had hitherto delayed, and prepared himself for the awful change he was about to undergo, by pious meditations, and holy discourse with the ministers of religion. Summonses had been sent to the princes informing them of their father's danger, but before they could reach Constantinople, he expired. His death was bewailed by all ranks as a national calamity; under him the Roman empire had reached the pinnacle of its fortunes, and from the day of his death it began rapidly to decline. His funeral was celebrated with more than ordinary magnificence, but a nation's tears were the noblest ornaments to his hearse.

## JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

BORN A. D. 331—DIED A. D. 363.

THE sons of Constantine, though carefully educated, proved cruel and faithless tyrants. Scarcely had their father's remains been committed to the tomb, when they became jealous of the bequests he had made to his nephews, and plotted the extermination of the Flavian family. The sanguinary Constantius, the most unprincipled, but also the most politic of the three princes, obtained from the bishop of Nicomedia a forged scroll, purporting to be the last will of Constantine, in which he was made to say that he had been poisoned by the contrivance of his brothers. This was made the pretext for a promiscuous massacre; two uncles and seven cousins of Constantius were slain without trial; the

fidelity of the domestics with difficulty saved Gallus and Julian, the sons of Julius Constantius, from the daggers of the assassins.

The rescued princes were afterwards sent to the ancient palace of the Cappadocian kings, a castle of great strength near Cæsarea, and received an education suitable to the dignity of their birth, but were at the same time preserved in strict ward. Years rolled on : by the death of his brothers, Constantius became sole master of the empire, and was persuaded by his ministers to make Gallus his associate, with the title of Cæsar. Julian was at the same time released from captivity, and permitted to pursue his studies. The change however did not greatly exhilarate him, for he knew the characters of his brother and cousin too well, not to foresee that their friendship would be of no long continuance. The very circumstance by which the emperor expected to cement the alliance, accelerated its dissolution ; he gave his sister Constantina in marriage to Gallus ; and he could scarcely have bestowed upon him a more fatal gift. The daughter and the sister of emperors, and the widow of a king, we may excuse her for being proud and ambitious ; but she was also sanguinary and vindictive, ready to punish fancied insults by torture and assassination. Gallus, a man of weak mind, acted on the suggestions of Constantina, and was thus led to the commission of deeds which bore the appearance of treason. He was summoned to appear before Constantius ; his wife died on the journey, and he was thus deprived at once of excuse and protection. Gallus was put to death, and Julian would have shared his fate, but for the interference of the empress Eusebia ; he was, however, sent a close prisoner to Milan.

His generous patroness finally procured Julian's release from captivity, and he was permitted to pursue his philosophical studies at Athens. During his residence in that city, he became dazzled by the false glare of Pagan philosophy, and secretly apostatised from Christianity. The heathen schools subsequently boasted of this conversion, but with very little reason; Julian attributed the deaths of his father and brother to the secret influence of corrupt ecclesiastics, and confounded the conduct of unworthy pastors with the holy system which they disgraced; he was one of the many whom the corruptions of Christianity have made infidels; the church of Rome has to answer for many Julians.

Constantius at length became weary of supporting alone the cares of empire, and summoned Julian from his retirement to become his associate. The young prince left Athens with regret, and received the province of Gaul with the title of Cæsar. Great joy was diffused among the enemies of the Romans by the news of this appointment; they supposed that a mere scholar would be ignorant of military affairs, and rioted in the confident anticipations of victory. But Julian's conduct soon proved that the zealous pursuit of knowledge by no means disqualifies a man for the duties of public life; he drove the enemies from Gaul, and then afforded great assistance to the emperor in his campaign against the Germans.

Constantius, after having visited Rome, returned to the East, committing to his associate the care of Gaul and Germany. Julian, freed from control, pursued his victorious career, and not only restored tranquillity to the provinces, but greatly enlarged the boundaries of the empire. Constantius was engaged in a

less successful war against the Persians, and felt very bitterly how great was the contrast between his reverses and the triumphs of the Cæsar. He sent to Gaul, ordering the greater part of the army to join him in the East, and Julian promised to obey the command. The soldiers, however, refused to quit their favourite leader, and, in a sudden tumult, proclaimed him emperor. Historians differ with respect to Julian's conduct on this occasion; some say, that he secretly tampered with the soldiers, others that the imperial title was forced upon him. He received it with apparent reluctance, whether real or affected, we cannot certainly determine, but he showed no want of firmness in maintaining it. Constantius received the unexpected news with great indignation, and ordered Julian instantly to lay aside the imperial dignity; but the command was treated with contempt. The Persian war prevented Constantius from marching immediately against his rival, and Julian, taking advantage of his absence, made himself master of Illyricum. The emperor, on hearing this news, hastily marched towards Europe, but his sudden death in Cilicia averted the calamities of civil war, and left Julian in undisputed possession of the entire empire.

The apostasy of Julian had been long suspected, but was not publicly acknowledged before the conquest of Illyricum; it might have been fatal to his pretensions had Constantius lived, for the Christians were now become the great majority of the Roman empire; but when he became legally their sovereign, they remembered the apostolic precept, and resolved, while they feared God, to honour the king. The emperor's first edict simply proclaimed full liberty of conscience; an insidious phrase, which has, on more occasions than

this, been used as a cloak for the worst of purposes. Orders were also issued for bringing to trial the corrupt ministers of Constantius ; but the inquisitorial tribunals erected for the occasion exercised their powers with needless severity, and condemned many innocent persons to death, not without the secret connivance of the emperor. The great object of Julian's ambition was to be known as the restorer of Heathen worship, and still more of Heathen literature ; he valued himself on his skill in logic and rhetoric, he sought frequent opportunities for their display ; but without laying ourselves open to the imputation of prejudice, we may confidently assert that never were more preposterous objects made the subject of princely ambition. The idolatrous religions of Greece and Rome were now fairly worn out ; even children could no longer be imposed upon by a new tale of Jupiter or of Bacchus. Whilst Paganism was unopposed, it might have duped its votaries ; but after once it had been fairly brought into competition with Revealed Religion, no man, possessing intellectual powers above idiocy, could be persuaded for a moment to listen to its claims. The philosophers, to whom Julian paid such implicit homage, were well aware of the odium into which idolatry had fallen, but they preferred a system which allowed ample scope for the wildest extravagances of fancy, and encouraged the pride of human reason, to a pure but humiliating religion, which required its disciples to receive instruction as "little children." They tried to make Paganism more palatable by representing all its absurdities as allegories ; they found a moral in every nonsensical fable, by which the meanest understanding was revolted, and the likeness between the moral and the tale was generally less

obvious than that between Noah and Fohi ; “ they are words of two syllables, and of four letters, in which *only two* are different.” We might well be surprised at their folly, if modern times did not furnish sufficient examples of the credulity of scepticism, and show how much of absurdity the man must believe who disbelieves Christianity.

It was soon found that the liberty of conscience promised by the emperor was delusive. Edicts were issued for shutting up the schools in which Christian instruction was given ; taxes were levied for the restoration of the heathen temples, and all who professed the obnoxious creed were studiously excluded from imperial favour. In order to vex the Christians, Julian even professed himself the patron of the Jew, and declared that he would establish the futility of the prophecy which foretold the continuance of their dispersion, and of the prostration of their temple. He issued an edict for the restoration of the temple ; liberal contributions were received from wealthy Jews in various parts of the empire, but the attempt failed miserably.

It has long been a subject of controversy whether Julian’s design was or was not defeated by a direct miraculous interposition. It is not a matter of the slightest importance. The acknowledged facts of the case, that the project of a powerful prince, supported not merely by a willing but an enthusiastic people, was utterly defeated, is a sufficient proof that the prediction was an award of Providence, against which no human power could contend. Whether miraculous fires burst from the earth and dispersed the workmen ; or whether fire-damps in the caverned ruins alarmed their fears ; or, finally, whether Julian was diverted from his designs by the Persian war, we shall not stop to inquire. In the

fact that the attempt was made and baffled, we see "the arm of the Lord revealed." How great or how small was the interference is a matter wholly indifferent.

The war against Persia excited Julian's utmost efforts ; he assembled at Antioch the best soldiers of the empire ; he offered magnificent sacrifices at the altars of the gods which had so long remained deserted, and he sent to consult the oracles of Delphi, Delos, and Dodona. The responses from these servile shrines promised him certain victory ; he could scarcely have been duped by such subserviency, and it is probable that they did not impose even upon the meanest sentinel. Having collected his forces, he proceeded slowly towards the confines of the Persian empire, but, with unusual imprudence, he refused the assistance of his allies, and on more than one occasion rejected their offers with insult.

He reached the limits of his empire without encountering any accident, and invaded the province of Assyria, once the seat of a powerful empire, but which had been now for ages a mere dependency on some foreign power. Julian laid waste the country with fire and sword ; useless and unprovoked cruelty, for he encountered no opposition. He at length reached the Tigris, and forced a passage over the river, but was unable to besiege the city of Ctesiphon as he had intended. Contrary to the advice of his officers, he not only refused all proposals of peace, but resolvèd to advance farther into Persia. Deceived by treacherous guides, he destroyed the flotilla which would have secured his retreat, and marched forward through a country naturally fertile, but which the precautions of the enemy had now rendered a desert. A few days convinced the emperor of the fatal error he had committed ; to retrace his steps was impossible, and he attempted to effect his retreat



by the northern road towards Armenia. The Persians hung on his rear, cut off all stragglers, and harassed the retreating army by incessant skirmishes. In one of these petty engagements the emperor received a mortal wound; he survived it for a single day, during which he exerted himself to console his followers, and then expired.

It would have been a bitter mortification to the vanity of one who so dearly loved popularity, to learn that his fate was lamented by few, and that his new system of Paganism perished with him.

### ALARIC THE GOTH.

BORN (ABOUT) A. D. 350—DIED A. D. 410.

THE removal of the seat of government from Rome to Constantinople destroyed the principle of unity which held the Roman empire together. Long before the formal separation between the Eastern and Western empires, they were virtually divided by jealous feelings and inconsistent interests. The security of Italy and the adjacent provinces depended on the maintenance of the frontiers along the Rhine; on the other hand the lower Danube formed the protection of the eastern dominions, and when Byzantium became the seat of government, it engaged almost exclusively the attention of the emperors. On this frontier a formidable host appeared in the reign of the emperor Valens, whose numbers rendered all hopes of resistance ridiculous. They appeared as suppliants rather than as enemies, and declared that they were flying before more terrible foes who had driven them from their ancient habitations. The emperor granted them certain waste lands in

Thrace, and assigned a portion of his revenue for their support, until they could cultivate their grants. But the beneficent designs of the emperor were frustrated by the avarice and cruelty of his ministers. The Goths, insulted by the prefects, and seeing their families perishing by want, took up arms, and committed dreadful ravages. Tranquillity was restored by the valour and wisdom of the emperor Thêodosius, who took a large body of the Goths into his service. Among the most distinguished of the warriors whom the emperor had thus enrolled in his army, was a young nobleman, named Alaric. descended from the family of the Balthi, which was considered the second in rank of the Gothic families. The military fame he acquired in the service of the emperor, made him be regarded as a future leader of his nation, and gave him great weight both at the Byzantine court and with his own tribes.

Theodosius, at his death divided the Roman dominions between his children, bequeathing to Arcadius the eastern empire, and the western to Honorius. Stilicho, the guardian of Honorius, wished to become the sole governor of the empire; but Rufinus, the guardian of Arcadius, resolved at all hazards to retain the management of the Byzantine dominions, and invited Alaric to invade the empire. Little persuasion was required either by the Goths or their leaders: from the hour in which Theodosius died, Alaric had regarded the empire as his prey, wisely conjecturing that he would encounter but little resistance from his inglorious successors. The Goths assembled under their favourite leader, entered Pannonia, whence they marched without resistance into Macedon and Thessaly. A garrison, sufficient to have checked their progress, was stationed in the celebrated pass of Thermopylæ, but it was withdrawn by

order of the traitor Rufinus, and all Greece laid at the mercy of the ruthless invaders. Towns and villages were burned, the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms were put to the sword, the females were reserved for the worse fate of becoming slaves to their cruel conquerors. The degenerate Greeks did not attempt to make resistance, they did not even defend the isthmus of Corinth, and the Peloponnesus shared the calamities of Phocis, Attica, and Bœotia. No hope of relief from Constantinople could be entertained, and the miserable sufferers craved assistance from Italy. Stilicho, with a powerful fleet and army, soon reached the Peloponnesus; by a series of judicious measures, he enclosed the Goths within lines of circumvallation, where there seemed no choice between hopeless battle and death by hunger. But Stilicho's confidence proved destructive of his plans; Alaric finding the vigilance of his opponents relaxed, unexpectedly forced a passage through the hostile entrenchments, made a rapid march across the country to the Corinthian gulf, and transported his troops over the narrow strait, now called "the Dardanelles of Lepanto," before his enemies could prepare for pursuit. Stilicho had the mortification to learn that Alaric had not only eluded his grasp, but made himself master of the important province of Epirus, concluded a peace with the treacherous court of Constantinople, and obtained from the feeble Arcadius the master-generalship of the eastern Illyricum.

Stilicho could no longer continue the war, when Alaric had been recognized as the ally and servant of the eastern emperor; he returned to Italy, where he learned that his Grecian estates had been confiscated through the influence of Rufinus. Thus did the

miserable Arcadius reward the spoiler and punish the defender of his dominions. Alaric employed the provincials in the manufacture of arms, with which he supplied his Goths, and thus removed the only defect which had ever rendered the courage of his countrymen ineffectual. The great body of the western Goths united under his victorious standard, and by the general consent of the barbarous chieftains he was proclaimed king of the Visigoths.

A royal title only served to stimulate the enterprising spirit of Alaric ; he saw no object sufficiently worthy of his ambition in eastern Europe, but the rich and fertile plains of Italy, where the name of an invader had not been heard for centuries, promised a rich reward of glory and of plunder. Honorius, a prince as degraded as his brother, made no effort to avert the coming danger ; he remained sunk in indolence until Alaric had crossed the Alps, and was rapidly marching towards Milan. Confusion spread through the palace, the cowardly courtiers proposed an instant flight to Gaul, and the emperor declared his approbation of the dastardly counsels. Stilicho boldly opposed the measure ; he urged the prince to maintain a resistance, until he should have time to assemble the forces of the empire, and drive back the Goths. During the absence of Stilicho, Alaric advanced more rapidly than had been expected, for a severe drought had dried up the rivers that impeded his march. He arrived before the walls of Milan, and the emperor, resuming his timidity, fled towards Gaul. The rapid movements of the Gothic cavalry intercepted his retreat, he was forced to throw himself for safety into the little town of Asta, which Alaric instantly besieged. The safety of the western

empire thus depended on the maintenance of an obscure town, whose name had been previously unknown to history.

Stilicho's abilities were equal to the crisis; he assembled his forces with incredible activity, hastily repassed the Alps, and before the Goths dreamed of his return, forced a passage through their lines and raised the siege of Asta. Alaric was soon besieged in his turn, and was urged vainly by some of his best captains to relinquish his enterprize. The king refused advice, and fortified his camp. On the morning of Easter-day, when the Goths, who had been converted to Christianity, were engaged in the celebration of that solemn festival, their camp was suddenly attacked by Stilicho, and they were forced to an engagement. Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the Goths laboured, the victory was long kept doubtful by the heroic exertions of Alaric, but at length Stilicho's infantry forced the Gothic entrenchments, and the fate of the day was decided. Undaunted by this severe defeat, Alaric, with his cavalry, unexpectedly pushed over the Apennines, with the intention of surprising Rome. He was again baffled by the activity of Stilicho, and forced to accept terms of peace. Alaric, disappointed in Italy, resolved to lead his forces into Gaul; but his plans were betrayed by some of his followers, and Stilicho inflicted a second and more grievous defeat on the Goths at Verona. He, however, entered into negotiations with the vanquished monarch, whose despair he justly dreaded, and permitted Alaric to purchase peace by evacuating Italy. The Goth even became for a time the pensioned servant of the western emperor, and aided, but feebly, in repelling the incursions of other barbarians.

But the abilities and the fame of Stilicho had pro-

cured him hosts of enemies, who eagerly plotted his overthrow. The wretched Honorius himself envied and feared his great minister, and lent a ready ear to the suggestions of his treacherous courtiers; the cowardly Romans declared that he insulted them by committing their defence to barbarous auxiliaries; and the corrupt legions deemed it a degradation that the allies were put on a level with the household troops. Even the courtly minions who had fled from Milan complained of the treaty with Alaric, and asserted that if they had commanded at Verona, they would have brought the Gothic monarch in chains to their master. The fatal orders were issued for his destruction, and Honorius sanctioned the murder of the only person able to protect his empire.

The barbarian troops that Stilicho had taken into the Roman service were eager to avenge his fate, they feared, however, for the safety of their families, kept as hostages in the chief cities of Italy. But the folly and cruelty of the Romans had not yet reached its consummation; on the same day, and as if by a common signal, the families of the barbarians were massacred throughout Italy and their fortunes plundered. Thirty thousand warriors were thus made the deadly enemies of the Roman name, and urged by every motive to labour for its destruction. They had not long to wait for a leader; Alaric soon recrossed the Alps, and they at once ranged themselves under his standards. Honorius shut himself up in Ravenna; but Alaric would not waste time on the siege; he pushed forward without encountering any opposition, and soon pitched his camp under the walls of Rome.

More than six centuries had elapsed since a hostile army had been seen from the ramparts of the "Eternal City," as it was fondly designated in the age of its glory,

but during that interval it had lost every thing from which the real security of a state is derived. The population of Rome was now a mere rabble, composed of various tribes and nations, with scarce a single family that could trace its genealogy to the age of the republic. Vice and profligacy of the worst description pervaded every rank of society; the very name of patriotism was forgotten. Alaric was allowed to blockade the city without opposition. The Romans had not courage to attempt a sally: they hoped to receive aid from Ravenna; but Honorius was too much occupied in providing for his own security to attempt the deliverance of his subjects. Famine at length arose in the city; all resources were cut off, and its horrors increased with frightful rapidity; plague, the usual attendant of famine, next appeared, and the citizens perished by thousands. At length deputies were sent to the Gothic camp to treat about the terms of ransom. They were received by Alaric with courtesy, and directed to state their terms. With pompous parade, which, under the circumstances, was perfectly ludicrous, they demanded a fair and honourable capitulation, in consequence of the skill, the valour, and the number of the Roman citizens. Alaric replied "the thicker the hay the easier it is mowed;" a rustic metaphor which his attendants hailed with shouts of applause. The abashed deputies requested that he should then fix his own terms; he demanded "all the gold and silver in Rome, all the precious moveables, and all the slaves who could prove their claims to the title of barbarians."—"What then will you leave us?" asked the deputies—"Your lives," was the brief and stern reply. Less severe terms were subsequently granted, but large sums were sacrificed, and the respite thus obtained was as brief as it was inglorious.

Alaric established his winter-quarters in Tuscany, where he was joined by thousands of Gothic slaves who broke their chains in every part of Italy, and by a powerful reinforcement, led by his brother from the banks of the Danube. But notwithstanding his prosperous condition, he anxiously desired peace on any terms that would secure to him a fixed seat and centre of power, for he daily felt how precarious is the sovereignty that consists in the guidance of migratory bands. He opened a negotiation with the ministers of Ravenna, and endured for some time with exemplary patience the imbecility, the uncertainty, and the treachery of Honorius and his successive ministers; at length, roused by a wanton insult, he broke off the treaty abruptly and once again marched towards Rome. Having seized the magazines and port of Ostia, whence the citizens derived all their food, he threatened to destroy both unless the city was surrendered. The Romans, in alarm, promised compliance; they declared that Honorius was no longer worthy to reign, and by the direction of Alaric, Attalus, the prefect of the city, was elected emperor. Honorius was reduced to such distress that he offered to acknowledge his rival's title, and to share with him the western empire. But Attalus was unworthy of his elevation: he lost the confidence of Attila, without acquiring that of his new subjects, and he joined the Roman senate, offering a pointed insult to his benefactor. He was soon publicly degraded, and his royal robes sent to Honorius, as a proof that there was no longer any impediment to a negotiation. But the folly of the court at Ravenna was beyond cure; the emperor refused to court one whom he regarded as a barbarian, and Alaric for the third time proceeded to wreak his vengeance upon Rome. The senate, in despair, resolved to delay rather than avert



the fate of the capital by resistance ; but some slaves during the night betrayed one of the gates to the enemy, and the Romans were awakened from slumber by the sound of the Gothic trumpet in their streets. The Christian feelings of the Goths partially restrained the horrid deeds usually perpetrated by a licentious army in a captured city ; the churches were spared, and all ecclesiastical property respected ; but further the compunction of the barbarians did not extend, and the Romans were subjected to every outrage and indignity that united cruelty, lust, and rapacity, could inflict. Conspicuous among the ravagers were the bands of emancipated slaves, eager to punish the wrongs they had suffered from tyrannical masters ; dreadful was the retribution they exacted, but scarcely less dreadful were the cruelties they had to avenge. For six days Rome remained a prey to the savage conquerors ; at the end of that time Alaric led his forces, loaded with plunder, in search of new conquests. He passed without opposition through the south of Italy, and was about to embark for Sicily, when he suddenly sickened and died. His soldiers buried him in a very extraordinary manner ; they made their captives change the course of a river, and interred him with his richest trophies in the vacant bed. They then directed the waters once more to their accustomed bed, and by a ruthless massacre of the prisoners engaged in the task, concealed for ever the grave of the mighty Alaric.

### ATTILA THE HUN.

BORN ABOUT A. D. 410.—DIED A. D. 453.

THE Huns were the most fierce and sanguinary of the barbarous nations that overran the Roman empire and

finally completed its destruction. They came originally from the remote districts of northern Asia, unknown to the writers of Greece and Rome; but from the description given of them, they manifestly belonged to the great Mongolian race, whose migrations have so often changed the dynasties of Asia. About the 395th year of the Christian era their progress began to excite alarm throughout Europe; they drove before them the Alans and the Goths, and at length pitched their tents in Pannonia, which has received from them its modern name of Hungary. Rugilas, the monarch of those hordes, threatened at once the eastern and western empires, but his vicinity to the former rendered him more truly formidable to Constantinople than to Rome. The emperor Theodosius II. a feeble and unwarlike prince, purchased dishonourable safety by bestowing a large pension on the barbarian, and giving him the title of general. But at the same time, with the perfidy for which the Byzantine court was always remarkable, he stimulated the subjected nations to throw off their allegiance to the Huns, and promised them his alliance. Rugilas sent ambassadors to complain of this breach of faith, whom the Greeks tried to amuse by an evasive negotiation. But Rugilas had no taste for the beauties of diplomatic trifling; he sent a peremptory demand for instant redress, and Theodosius was forced to send two noblemen of high rank to arrange the terms by which his forbearance might be purchased.

The progress of the treaty was suspended by the death of Rugilas. He was succeeded by his nephews Attila and Bleda, the sons of his brother Mundzuk; they granted a personal interview to the imperial deputies. The forms used by the barbarous princes were studiously insulting; they did not even dismount from

their horses when the ambassadors arrived, and they would not abate one tittle of their extravagant demands. These were, that the annual stipend should be doubled;—a ransom paid for escaped Roman captives,—all treaties with the enemies of the Huns annulled,—and all fugitives and deserters who had fled from the Huns delivered to their justice. With these terms the emperor meanly complied, and Attila showed his contempt for such weakness by crucifying the fugitives that had been sent back, within the precincts of the empire. Superstition had a powerful hold over the pagan Huns, and Attila craftily used it to strengthen his influence. He reported that he had received from a shepherd, who discovered it by accident, the sacred sword of the national god, and that its possession gave him a divine claim to the dominion of the universe. The declaration was implicitly credited by the barbarians; they did not even remonstrate when Attila deposed and murdered his brother Bleda.

Having now become sole monarch of his formidable race, Attila extended his sway over the neighbouring tribes both of Scythia and Germany. Nations that had made the Roman emperors tremble acknowledged the Hun for their master; he reckoned among his vassals the kings of the Gepidæ and the Ostrogoths. He was less successful in his invasion of Persia, from whence his forces were driven with loss, but he was prevented from avenging the calamity by engaging in war with the emperor of the east.

The causes of this war were, the alliance of Attila with Genseric king of the Vandals, whom the forces of both empires threatened; and the rich spoils of Thrace and Macedon. The immediate occasion of hostilities was a dispute between the Huns and the bishop of Mar-

gus, in which both seem to have been guilty of predatory incursions. Attila, having issued a brief declaration of war, invaded the Roman territories, and laid them waste with a ferocious cruelty, exceeding all powers of description. The worst excesses of Alaric were as nothing compared to his most tender mercies; it was his savage boast that "grass never grew again on the ground where his horse had trod." The armies raised to oppose him were absolutely rode down by his squadrons, and the whole breadth of Europe, from the Euxine to the Adriatic sea, was ruthlessly desolated, with the single exception of the space inclosed by the walls of Constantinople. No attempt to check the barbarians was made by the rulers of the western empire; they no longer regarded the people of the eastern division as their brethren, and they viewed their calamities passively, without dreaming that their own day of similar endurance was not far distant. Theodosius was forced to accept the terms of peace dictated by the haughty conqueror; they were more onerous and more disgraceful than those to which he had formerly assented; and he again had the meanness to yield, to the vengeance of Attila, all the revolted subjects of the Huns that had fought beneath his banners. This act of monstrous perfidy destroyed all confidence between the barbarians and the court of Constantinople, which thus showed that it was equally destitute of honour and of power to protect its adherents. Theodosius was destined to endure greater humiliations; he was induced by one of his ministers to bribe Attila's ambassadors to assassinate their master, and to send a deputation to watch the event, under the pretence of expediting a treaty. The treachery was discovered, and the monarch of the Huns threatened dreadful revenge; but he was pacified by the

submissive apologies of the degraded emperor, and bestowed upon him a contemptuous forgiveness. Theodosius did not long survive his humiliation; he died from the effects of a fall while hunting, and was succeeded by his sister Pulcheria. The empress gave her hand and throne to Marcian, a general equally conspicuous for his ability, his integrity, and his piety.

Attila, after a short repose, hesitated whether he should first attack the eastern or western empire. Indignation at the refusal of tribute by Marcian urged him to assail Constantinople; but the more tempting wealth of Gaul and Italy induced him to march westwards. At this time the western empire was nominally ruled by Valentinian III. but the power of the state was really shared between his mother Placidia, and Ætius, a general of great abilities, but very questionable principles. Honoria, the sister of the emperor, having been detected in criminality, was sent as a state prisoner to the court of Constantinople, from whence she wrote to Attila, tendering him her hand and her imperial rights, if he would liberate her from confinement. The Hun, who had several wives already, treated her overtures with contempt, until he thought that they might afford him some plausible pretence for the war that he meditated, and he then proclaimed himself the champion of the injured Honoria.

The levies of Attila were completed on a scale of astonishing magnitude; "A rabble of kings," says the Gothic historian, Jornandes, "waited on him as satellites." His mighty hosts at length moved westwards, crossed the Rhine on a bridge of boats, and forcing their way into the very heart of France, laid siege to Orleans. Ætius made every exertion to raise a force sufficient to stem the torrent, and succeeded in gaining the active aid

of Theodoric, the ruler of the Visigothic monarchy, founded in Gaul by the successors of Alaric. Orleans was taken by storm ; but scarcely had it fallen when it was recovered by the forces of Ætius and Theodoric, who forced the Huns to retire. Attila retreated to Châlons, where the level plains favoured the operations of his Scythian cavalry. Hither he was followed by the Romans and Goths ; a dreadful battle ensued, in which the Huns were severely but not decisively defeated ; the Goths were checked in their career of triumph by the loss of their sovereign, who fell wounded from his horse and was trampled to death ; Ætius also would not follow up his advantages until he learned the fortune of his allies. The Huns were thus enabled to retreat to their camp : Torismond, the new Gothic king, was anxious to besiege it, but Ætius withheld his consent, for he dreaded his allies full as much as his enemies. Attila took advantage of their neglect, and effected his retreat through Gaul, burning and destroying every thing which had been spared during his advance.

This defeat did not repress the courage and energy of Attila ; he appeared again in the field at the beginning of the following year to claim the dowry of the princess Honoria, but Italy, not Gaul, was the theatre of his exploits. The city of Aquileia was the first place that resisted his arms : so obstinately was the place defended that the Huns insisted on raising the siege ; Attila, by an artful appeal to their superstitions, prevailed upon them to persevere, and Aquileia was taken. So fearful was the revenge of the barbarians, that in the next generation the site of the city could no longer be determined with accuracy. Northern and central Italy now lay at the mercy of him who never knew its name. Those who had assisted Ætius in the defence of Gaul refused their

succour to Italy ; the legions were few and not over courageous, and the Romans were as great a collection of feeble cowards as ever had been assembled within the walls of a city. The emperor, therefore, had no resource but negotiation to save his capital, and Attila was bribed by a large sum to retire from before the walls of Rome.

As if to throw an air of ridicule over his ravages, the barbarian threatened to return with fresh virulence, unless his promised bride Honoria was delivered within a stipulated time to his ambassadors ; and then returned to the banks of the Danube for the purpose of celebrating his nuptials with a new and younger bride. The night of his marriage was the night of his death ; the circumstances are variously related ; the more common account is that he died of an hæmorrhage produced by excessive drinking ; but others accuse his bride of having wished by assassination to avenge the wrongs of her kindred and country. The funeral rites of Attila were like those of Alaric ; all the captives who had laboured in preparing his grave were murdered. With him died the glory of the Huns ; in a few years after his death they were broken and mixed with other hordes, and the very name of the nation, once so formidable, disappears from history.

### CLOVIS THE FRANK.

BORN A. D. 462—DIED A. D. 511.

THE Franks were a confederation of the German tribes that dwelt between the Rhine, the Weser, the Maine, and the Elbe. They took the title of Franks, or Freemen, to show their resolute love of independence, and they gave the name of Francia to the country in which

they were settled, a name that was subsequently to belong to far different territories. After having been frequently repulsed by the Romans, they succeeded in passing the Rhine, A. D. 430, and conquering a great part of ancient Belgium. Tournay, Cambray, and Amiens, were included in the new kingdom of France thus established in Gaul. The tribe that advanced farthest to the south and west was that of the Sicambri, who took the name of Merovingi, from Merovic,\* one of their ancient chiefs. After the death of Ætius, who had been treacherously murdered by his imbecile and ungrateful master, the emperor Valentinian, Childeric† extended the dominions of the Franks at the expense of the Romans, but died in the midst of his victorious career, and was succeeded by his son Clovis.‡

Gaul was at this period almost wholly severed from the Roman empire; the southern part was still called "the province," but the rest of the country was shared between the Burgundians, the Goths, and some independent Frankish tribes. The young Sicambrian monarch resolved to make himself master of the entire country, and to begin by attacking the Romans, whose dominions were at once the richest and the weakest. The city of Soissons was the capital of a little kingdom founded by the patrician Syagrius after the dissolution of the western empire. Taking advantage of the merited popularity he enjoyed as provincial governor, Syagrius assumed the title of king of the Romans, and was gladly obeyed by his subjects. Against him were the first

\* More properly Mere-wig, from *Merc*, great, and *Wig*, a warrior.

† *Child*, a young man, *Rik*, brave.

‡ More properly Hlod-wig, from *Hlod*, or *laud*, celebrated, and *Wig*, a warrior. It is the same name that is now pronounced Louis.—



efforts of Clovis directed; a battle was fought near Soissons, in which the Romans were totally defeated, and the city immediately surrendered. Syagrius sought refuge with the king of the Goths, but on the demand of Clovis, was delivered to the conqueror, and privately beheaded. The capture of Soissons was followed by the subjugation of the Tongrians, a Frankish tribe that had settled in Gaul.

Immediately after this victory, Clovis sought and obtained the hand of Clotilda,\* the niece of the Burgundian king Gondobald,† a young princess who had been educated in the Catholic faith, though the Arian heresy was established among the Burgundians as well as among the Goths. Clovis was still a Pagan, but in a dreadful battle with the Germans, seeing his Franks give ground, he besought the aid of Clotilda's God, and attributing the subsequent victory to the efficacy of his prayers, he embraced Christianity. The conversion of such a powerful prince to the Catholic faith, at a time when the principal Christian rulers were followers of Arius, diffused great joy through the western churches; the ceremony of baptism was performed with great pomp by Remigius, bishop of Rheims, and an embassy was sent from the Pope to congratulate him, whom the Romish church now regarded as its champion. It was probably through clerical influence that the Armorican Republics immediately placed themselves under the protection of Clovis, and all the Romans throughout Gaul acknowledged him as their sovereign. Thus ended the Roman dominion in Gaul, which had continued more than five hundred years.

\* More properly Hlot-hilde, from *Hlot*, celebrated, and *hilde*, a young lady.

† From *Gond*, a soldier, and *tald*, courageous.—*Wachter's Glossary*.

Aided by Theodoric\* king of the Ostrogoths, who had founded a powerful state in Italy, Clovis gained several advantages over the Burgundians, and at length rendered them tributary. Religion is said to have formed one of the pretexts of this war; it is indeed certain that the Romish clergy celebrated the conquests of Clovis as triumphs of the faith. Jealousy between the allies prevented the complete destruction of the Burgundian kingdom; but the Frankish monarch only granted peace to secure time and opportunity for preparing a more extensive system of warlike operations.

When all his preparations were complete, Clovis resolved to assail the Visigoths, who held the kingdom of Aquitain. The south of France was thus doomed to receive a foretaste of the calamities which religious wars inflict, and to find Clovis the precursor of the persecutors that in a later age exterminated the Albigenses. The king's speech to his military council was very characteristic. "It displeases me," he said, "that the Goths, who are Arians, should occupy the best part of Gaul; let us go, with the help of God, and drive them away; let us make their lands subject to us, for they are excellent, and we shall do well." The speech was received with shouts of applause, and the armies marched forward exultingly. A battle was fought near Poitiers, in which the Visigoths were totally defeated, and their king slain. The whole province of Aquitain was subdued, but the vigorous defence of Arles deferred the ruin of the Visigoths; it gave time for Theodoric to interfere, and through his influence Clovis was induced to leave the vanquished in possession of some portion of their territories.

The Ripuarian Franks chose Clovis for their sove-

\* From *Theod*, greatly, and *rik*, brave.—*Wachter's Glossary*.

reign, after their monarch and his son had been assassinated by his means; yet such was the state of moral feeling, that the ecclesiastical historian, who relates both the acquisition and the crimes by which it was obtained, uses the following words: "Thus were the enemies of Clovis delivered daily into his hands by Providence, because his intention was upright, and his conduct pleasing to Heaven."\* "The people of Verdun alone resisted this transfer of their allegiance to the murderer of their former king; but the city having been closely besieged, and no chance of relief appearing, they were forced to surrender. He next attacked the king of Cambray, who ruled over another Frankish tribe, and succeeded by bribery rather than valour. The prisoners were put to death by the cruel conqueror; and to secure the dominions he had acquired, he ruthlessly massacred the Frankish princes throughout Gaul, many of whom were his near kinsmen.

Clovis did not long survive the complete conquest of Gaul, which from henceforward began to be called France. He died at Paris in the thirty-first year of his reign.

### CHOSROES I. or NUSHIRVAN.

BORN A. D. 498—DIED A. D. 579.

WHILE the Western empire was totally destroyed by the barbarian invaders, the empire of the East, equally feeble and demoralized, was frequently brought to the verge of ruin; but the impregnable situation of its capital, and the unity of its despotic government, long delayed its fall; there were even times when it seemed likely to regain its former eminence. This was more

\* Greg. Tur. l. ii, c. 40.

especially the case in the reign of Justinian, who, though an unwarlike prince, had the good fortune to possess many excellent generals, especially Narses and Belisarius. The Persians were the great competitors with the rulers of Constantinople for the empire of the East, especially in the reign of Chosroes, or Nushirvan; but before relating the circumstances of this monarch's active life, we must give some account of the state and condition of his country.

The Seleucidæ received Persia after the division of Alexander's empire, but their harsh government drove the inhabitants into rebellion, and a series of obscure wars and revolutions followed. At length the Arsacidæ, a race of Parthian princes, occupied the throne, and acquired such power that they contested the empire of the East with the Romans even in the age of the Cæsars. The Arsacidæ were attached to the Grecian forms of idolatry, and persecuted those who adhered to the religion of Zoroaster. During five hundred years the Persians remained subject to these princes, until Ardeshir Babekan, called by the Greeks Artaxerxes, raised the standard of revolt. The insurrection was successful, the Arsacidæ were expelled, the Magian religion restored, and a new line of princes established in Persia, called the Sassanides, from Sassan, the father or perhaps a remote ancestor of Ardeshir. This change in the Persian dynasty was accompanied by a religious revolution, whose effects were felt not merely in Asia but in Europe. Mani or Manes attempted to compound a new system of religion from the doctrines of Zerdusht and the truths of Christianity, and the baleful consequences of the dangerous compromise were a series of heresies from which the Eastern churches are even now scarcely free.

The Magians had suffered persecution, but they had not learned mercy; they strenuously urged on the minds of the Sassanid monarchs the duty of establishing uniformity of worship in their dominions, and even extending the sway of their religion by the sword. In the reign of Yezdegerd II. (A. D. 441), we find the Magi addressing the following exhortation to their sovereign.\* “Valiant King! the gods have given thee empire and victory: they require no corporeal homage; but look to it that all tribes and nations of thy kingdom be brought under one law, after which thou wilt also subject the land of the Greeks to thy belief. Gird thyself; then, O King! on this exhortation: gather together an army,† and set out against the land of the Kushanians.‡ Assemble all the tribes, and lead them without delay within the Gates of the Watch,§ and set up thy tents even there. Shouldst thou hold them all fast in a distant foreign land, then wilt thou obtain the object of thy wishes. Shouldst thou glorify us in our faith, then wilt thou rule over the land of the Kushanians, especially as the Greeks will make no inroad into thy territory; only exterminate the sect of the Christians.” In compliance with the wishes of the priests, a cruel persecution was commenced, and the Christians in Persia nearly exterminated.

The example of Mani was followed by Mazdek, who, like all eastern impostors, commenced his career by rendering himself famous for ascetic severities. His tenets are only known to us from the writings of his enemies,

\* This document is taken from Vartan’s Armenian History, published by the Oriental Translation Committee.

† The Huns or Scythians.

‡ The celebrated pass of Derbend, frequently called the Caspian gates; it is the only known pass over the Caucasus.

and we must, therefore, hesitate in believing that he taught such impracticable doctrines as the community of property, and the inutility of marriage. Kobad,\* king of Persia, was one of his converts, but the priests and the nobles, indignant at this desertion of the national faith, deposed their monarch, and threw him into prison. After having lingered long in a dungeon, Kobad was enabled to make his escape by the contrivance of his queen, with whom he changed dresses. He was finally restored to his throne, and the remainder of his reign is described as a period of uninterrupted prosperity.

Kobad had three sons, but his favourite was Khosrou or Chosroes, the youngest of his family. To him he resolved to bequeath his crown, and in order to fit him for the duties of a sovereign, he determined to have him educated at the court of Constantinople. The emperor Justin at first consented to take charge of the young prince; but being told by some of his suspicious counsellors that Chosroes might hereafter make some claim to a share in the empire, under the pretence of being his adopted child, he raised such difficulties, that the design was ultimately abandoned. Chosroes felt this treatment as an insult, and it was one great cause of the inveterate hatred which he ever after displayed against the Romans. But the domestic instruction which the prince received was not inferior to that which might have been attained at the imperial court; from the generosity of disposition that he manifested in early youth, he was popularly called Nushirvan, that is, "the Magnificent," by which name he is still celebrated by oriental writers. The following affectionate remonstrance of Kobad to his favourite son, on the only

\* Called Cavades by the Greek historians.

defect that he discovered in his character, deserves to be quoted. "I observe," said he, "every estimable quality united in you, but you have one fault; you judge too severely of others. I desire, my son, you should act according to your own opinions; but I should wish you to think more favourably both of the character and judgment of other men. Depend upon it, more great enterprises are defeated by distrust than by confidence."

After the death of Kobad, Kaoos, his eldest son, was about to assume the regal title, but he was prevented by the Mobud,\* or High Priest, who declared that the throne should remain vacant until the late king's testament had been read to the general assembly of the priests and nobles. Pursuant to proclamation, an assembly was held; the Will was produced and read; it recommended Nushirvan to the nation, and he was instantly hailed monarch of Persia. The most probable reason for thus setting aside Kaoos is, that he was suspected of secret attachment to the Manichean creed, and of having conspired with the professors of that heresy to dethrone his father. His guilt, however, could not have been clearly established, for he was permitted not only to retain his life, but to remain at court.

Immediately after the votes had been given, Nushirvan addressed the assembly in the following terms: "All the principal offices of the kingdom are filled by worthless and despicable men; and who, in such days, would make a vain attempt to govern this kingdom according to principles of wisdom and justice? If I do my duty, I must make great changes; the result of these may be bloodshed; my sentiments towards many

\* The Greeks mistook the ecclesiastical title for a proper name, and ascribe the prevention of Kaoos's reign to Mebodes.

of you would perhaps alter, and families whom I now regard would be ruined. I have no desire to enter into such scenes; they are neither suited to my inclination, nor to my character, and I must avoid them." The nobles with one accord declared themselves convinced of the necessity of extensive reforms, and pledged themselves by oath, to support the measures of their new monarch with their lives and properties.

Nushirvan then ascended the throne, and addressed the assembly as his subjects. "The authority which I derive from my office is established over your persons, not over your hearts: God alone can penetrate into the secret thoughts of man. I desire that you should understand from this, that my vigilance and control can extend only over your actions, not over your consciences; my judgments shall always be founded on the principles of immutable justice, not on the dictates of my individual will or caprice; and when, by such a proceeding, I shall have remedied the evils which have crept into the administration of the state, the empire will be powerful, and I shall merit the applause of posterity." •

Nushirvan did not long maintain his tolerant principles; he ordered Mazdek to be put to death, and proscribed his tenets as delusive and dangerous; but it appears probable that the false prophet had provoked this persecution by opposing the royal authority. It is not clear whether this persecution was not connected with the suppression of a conspiracy formed against the king by his brother Saum, or, as he is called by the Greeks, Zames; the ground of our entertaining such a suspicion is, that Saum is reported to have relied for support on the Manichees.

The choice which Nushirvan made of a prime minister is a circumstance for which he is greatly praised by



oriental writers. This high office was entrusted to Abuzurg Mihir, whom merit alone raised from a mean condition to the highest rank in the state. He was secretly a professor of Christianity, and used his influence to check the persecuting spirit of the Magi, which they revenged by procuring his condemnation in a subsequent reign.

In the beginning of this reign, the emperor Justinian had purchased a disgraceful peace from the Persians, and was thus enabled to direct the whole strength of his empire to the prosecution of the war against the Vandals in Africa. When Nushirvan sent ambassadors to congratulate the court of Constantinople, on the conquests which Belisarius had made in Africa, he directed them to tell the emperor that he had a right to some share of the spoils, since peace with Persia had enabled the emperor to make conquests. Justinian took the hint, and presented the Persian monarch with a large sum of money. But this was not sufficient to avert a war, especially as national enmity was added to the jealousy between the monarchs. The immediate cause of hostilities appears, however, to have been the misconduct of Justinian.

When the Arsacidæ were driven from the Persian throne, they established a new but a feeble kingdom in Armenia. Situated on the confines of the Persian and Roman empires, the independence of the Armenians was alternately menaced from either frontier, and its monarchs were obliged to obey commands sometimes from one powerful neighbour, and not unfrequently from both. Justinian had treated some of the Armenian princes severely, and they naturally sought the protection of Nushirvan. The Persian monarch in his first campaign reduced the greater part of Syria, took the

city of Antioch by storm; but failing to reduce Dara, returned loaded with spoil to his own dominions.

The inhabitants of Colchis, being oppressed by their Byzantine rulers, were induced to place themselves under the protection of the Persians. In the early part of his second campaign, Nushirvan subdued the province of Colchis, and was pursuing his conquests on the Euxine sea, when he received intelligence that Belisarius had invaded Persia, and was therefore forced to return for the protection of his own country. The war continued during the two following years with mutable fortune; it was, at length terminated by a treaty in which the two great powers agreed to share the dominions of the Armenians and Colchians between them. The superiority of the Persians, however, was acknowledged by Justinian's consenting to pay a large tribute.

While engaged in the Roman war, Nushirvan made some extensive conquests in other directions. He annexed to his empire some of the Scythian or Tartar districts north of the Oxus, a great portion of northern India, and some provinces of Arabia. The subjugation of the Tartar hordes secured the tranquillity of north-eastern Persia, which had been almost annually devastated by these tribes of robbers, and leisure was afforded to the monarch for the improvement of the metropolis, and raising useful public works throughout his dominions. Ambassadors brought rich presents to the Persian court from all the surrounding nations; the rulers of China and India lavished the splendid productions of their respective countries to purchase his favour; Nushirvan seemed to have attained the summit of human happiness, when domestic troubles for ever destroyed his tranquillity.

Nushizad, the monarch's son by a Christian mother,

had been early instructed in the principles of the Christian faith, and had learned to despise the impure rites of the Magi. With more sincerity than prudence he openly professed his creed, and thus irritated the priests and the king. Nushirvan was persuaded to punish the prince for opposing the national religion by throwing him into prison. After some time a report was spread that the king had died in India; the young prince persuaded his keepers to permit his escape, and raised the standard of revolt. The Christians of Persia crowded to his banners, but were soon astonished by the intelligence that the king was alive and well. They had now, however, gone too far to retreat, and the ranks of the insurgents daily increased by the accession of those whom the king's severity had displeased. Nushirvan sent one of his best generals to suppress the revolt, with orders to slay the young prince if he met him in battle, but to spare his life if he should be taken prisoner. The young prince could not desert those who had incurred the penalties of treason by their attachment to his cause, and he trusted that a victory would enable him to make terms for his followers. In the battle that ensued, Nushirvan fell mortally wounded; he survived only while he could dictate a last message to his mother; "Tell my mother," he said, "it is my dying request that my body may be buried amongst the Christians."

Nushirvan is highly extolled by the oriental writers for his love of justice, and we shall select a few both to illustrate his character, and give our readers an example of the habits of thought among eastern authors. The king used to give the following curious account of the manner in which his mind became first impressed with a sense of equity; "I, one day, when a youth, saw a man throw a stone at a dog, and break the animal's leg; a moment afterwards a horse passed, and with a

kick broke the man's leg; and this animal had only galloped a short distance, when its foot sunk in a hole, and its leg was broken. I gazed with wonder and awe, and have since feared to commit injustice."—The ambassadors from Constantinople, admiring the prospect from the windows of the royal palace, remarked an uneven piece of ground, and asked the reason why it was not levelled. "It is the property of an old woman," said one of the Persian nobles, "who has objections to sell it, though often requested by our sovereign, and he would rather have his prospects spoiled than be guilty of violence." "That uneven spot," replied the Romans, "consecrated as it is by justice, appears to us more beautiful than any other part of the landscape."—Nushirvan while hunting became desirous of eating some of the venison in the field; his attendants went to a neighbouring village, and forcibly seized some salt for the royal use. When the meat was served, the king, having learned how the salt was procured, instantly ordered payment to be made. Then addressing his attendants, he said, "This is in itself a trifling matter, but in reference to me it is one of great importance. A king should be invariably just, because he is an example to his subjects; should he be criminal in trifles, they will become altogether dissolute. If I cannot make my subjects just in the smallest things, I will at least show them that it is possible to be so." The following inscription is said to have been engraved on the diadem of Nushirvan:—

"Why should we boast of life or fame,  
Since heirs to both, with pressing claim,  
Fast on our footsteps tread?  
I, like my fathers, wear a crown,  
And I, like them, must lay it down,  
And mingle with the dead."

But it is the curse of a despotic government that the virtues of the monarch may often be rendered fruitless by the wickedness of his deputies; and if they are personal favourites, truth will be slow in reaching the royal ear. Of this we have an example in the reign of Nushirvan; he learned that some of the provinces were infested by jackalls, whose horrid screams filled the inhabitants with terror. The king demanded of the Mobud what this visitation portended. The priest replied, "I have learned from history, that beasts of prey spread over a kingdom when injustice prevails." Nushirvan took the hint, and appointed a commission to investigate the state of the provincial administration; in consequence of which, twenty-four petty governors were convicted of gross tyranny and oppression, and deservedly executed. These are sufficient specimens of the solid understanding and upright sentiments for which this monarch is celebrated.

The last war in which Nushirvan engaged was against the Emperor of Constantinople; it originated, like the former, in the pretensions of the rival potentates to the homage of the Armenian princes. At first, his usual success attended the Persian monarch, but, prosecuting his advantages too incautiously, he was defeated, and forced to escape on his elephant over the Euphrates. At his advanced age, such exertions were too much for his enfeebled frame: he was attacked by a lingering disease, which the physicians declared would prove mortal. Before his death, he made peace with the Roman Emperor, and then sending for his son Hormuz, whom he designed for his successor, addressed him in the following terms:—"I Nushirvan, the possessor of the kingdoms of Persia and India, address these last words to my son Hormuz, that they may be a lamp to

him in the days of darkness, a guide through the deserts of life, a beacon when he navigates the tempestuous seas of this world. When these eyes, which even now can scarcely bear the solar light, are closed, let him be seated on my throne, and let his lustre be equal to the splendour of the illuminating orb: but let him remember, in the midst of his greatness, that kings rule not for themselves, but for their people, and that they are, with respect to them, what the heavens are to the earth. Can the earth be fruitful, if the heavens pour not upon it the fertilizing rain and dew? Let all thy subjects, my son, share in thy benefactions,—those who are nearest thee first, and the others successively, even to the greatest distance. It might be a mark of too much pride were I to propose myself to thee as an example; but I will remind thee of that which hath been an example to me. Behold the sun; it visits every part of the globe; it is sometimes visible, and sometimes hidden from our sight, because every region partakes of its splendour and is cherished by its beams. Enter not any province, but with a prospect of benefiting its inhabitants; neither quit it, unless with a view of doing good elsewhere. The evil doers must be punished; to them the sun of majesty is eclipsed: the good merit encouragement, and should experience its orient glories. As that brilliant luminary unweariedly fulfils the purposes for which it was created, do thou always act as a king, in order that thou mayest be revered as a king. My son, often offer thy homage to the Supreme Being, and implore his aid; but bow not before the footstool of Omnipotence with an impure mind. Do the dogs enter thy temple? Should evil lusts be admitted into the temple of thy soul? If thou shalt observe this rule diligently, thy prayers shall

be heard; the devices of thine enemies shall be confounded; thy friends shall be ever faithful; thou shalt give delight to thy subjects, and receive it from them in turn. Do justice, humble the insolent, relieve the distressed, comfort the broken-hearted, love thy children, protect learning; follow the advice of thine aged counsellors; suffer not the young rashly to interfere with the affairs of the state; let the good of thy subjects be ever thine object and thine aim. Farewell! I leave thee a great kingdom, which thou mayest preserve by obedience to my precepts, but which thou shalt certainly lose if thou lendest thine ear to opposite counsels."

These were the last words of Nushirvan, the most beloved prince of his age, whose reputation survives to this hour in the works of all the eastern historians, in the treatises of their moralists, and above all, in the writings of their poets.

## MOHAMMED.

BORN A. D. 571; DIED A. D. 632.

THE reign of Nushirvan was drawing towards a close, when a child was born in Arabia, destined, at a future age, to render all the labours of that monarch, for securing the permanency of the Magian religion and the Persian empire, ineffectual. Among the Arabians descended from Ishmael, the son of Abraham, the most noble tribe was that of the Koreish. To them was entrusted the care of the Kaaba, or sacred Temple of Mecca, which appears to have been an object of religious veneration from the earliest times. Among the rulers of the Koreish was Hashem, who acquired great fame by his liberality and universal kindness: he was the grandfather of Abdallah, a youth of extreme beauty,

whose accomplishments were equal to the elegance of his form. Abdallah married, very young, Amena, a lady celebrated for her charms and virtue: the offspring of this union was one son, prophetically named Mohammed, or "the celebrated." Many centuries elapsed after the death of Mohammed ere his biography was written: we must not, therefore, be astonished to find the accounts of his life given by oriental writers full of improbable legends and absurd fables. These extravagant fictions commence with his birth, which is said to have been announced by numerous prodigies. We shall not detail them: these stories belong to the history of his religion, not to that of himself. A short time after the birth of his son, Abdallah died, leaving his wife and child in great poverty. Amena did not long survive her husband, and the care of the boy devolved on his grandfather, Abdal Motalleb. The new protector of Mohammed was also attacked by mortal disease, but, on his death-bed, he bequeathed the care of the child to Abu Taleb, the brother of Abdallah by the same mother. Abu Taleb proved a kind guardian to his nephew: he educated him as a merchant, and took him as the companion of his journey to Syria, in order that he might become practically acquainted with trade. It is, however, curious that he did not instruct him in the art of writing, in which Mohammed was deficient even to the day of his death. During this journey, Abu Taleb and his nephew were kindly entertained by a Christian monk at Bosra, whose conversation is said to have first directed the attention of Mohammed to the subject of religion. After their return home, Abu Taleb procured for his nephew the situation of factor to a rich widow, named Kadijah: he went on her affairs a second time into Syria, and acquitted himself so much



to her satisfaction, that, on his return, she gave him her hand in marriage. The wealth he acquired by this match enabled him to live in great ease and splendour for fifteen years. Nothing is recorded of his life during this period, nor have we any means of discovering when he first resolved to assume the character of a prophet. It is, perhaps, of greater importance to show how the religious and political state of the world, at the time, was peculiarly favourable to his designs.

The dissensions and heresies, which had long distracted the Christian Churches both in the East and the West, had greatly deteriorated the pure religion of the Gospel. The controversialists had appealed to the sword, and that system which God announced as "Peace on earth, good-will towards men," was made a pretext for bloodshed and persecution. In Arabia itself some of the worst heresies were propagated: the chief of these were the heresies of the Ebionites, the Nazareans, and the Collyridians, the last of which derived its name from the collyris, or "twisted cake" offered by them to the Virgin Mary, whom they worshipped as a deity. It is known to all readers of ecclesiastical history, that a sect called Mariamites exalted the Virgin to a participation in the Godhead, and that writers of the Romish Church have named her the complement of the Trinity." The Christianity, then, with which Mohammed became acquainted was little, if at all, superior to idolatry, and was revolting to every intelligent mind.

The state of Judaism was equally corrupt. The Talmud, with all its subtleties, all its follies, all its falsehoods, and we must add, all its blasphemies, had superseded the Pentateuch. The observances of the law had sunk into an unmeaning ritual; its moral precepts were made void by human tradition. With strange obstinacy

this highly-favoured people, to whom the wells of the water of life were freely open, had hewn out for themselves broken cisterns which could hold no water, and left Moses and the prophets to follow the doctors and the rabbis.

The Magian religion was the only one that in the age of Mohammed could compete in extent or influence either with Judaism or Christianity: it was more corrupt than the worst form of either, and, as a necessary consequence, its priests outstripped all other persecutors in severity. Men do not begin to use force until reason fails them: the Inquisition, with its jaded rack and wearied executioner, was not sent among the Albigenses until they were found too clever for the crafty monk, too wise for the cunning priest. Zensism arose in the very bosom of Magianism—for superstition is the parent of infidelity, as we have had occasion to observe once before. The Zends believed in no religion, and, of course, derided every moral obligation. We cannot excuse the imposture of Mohammed, but we must confess, that the creed he taught was infinitely purer than those with which he had originally to contend.

The political state of the East was never more favourable to the career of an adventurer who sought to found an empire. The court of Constantinople had sunk into absolute worthlessness; and though its power was for a time revived by the exertions of the Emperor Heraclius, yet it was easy to see that a government could not be lasting, whose stability rested on the life of a single man. Hormuz, the son of Nushirvan, had not imitated the example, nor followed the precepts of his father: he was dethroned by his subjects, and murdered by command of his son Khosrou Parviz. The new king was, in his turn, deposed by one of his generals, named Bah-

ram, but was subsequently restored by the aid of the Emperor Maurice. Misfortunes did not abate his cruelties, and he was at length deposed, imprisoned, and slain, by his son Siruyeh. In consequence of these revolutions, the strength of the Persians had been greatly weakened : it is true, that in the reign of Khosrou Parviz they overran Syria, and stormed Jerusalem and Damascus ; but they owed their success to the frantic zeal of the Jews, whom the cruel persecutions of their Christian rulers had driven into a fearful rebellion of vengeance.

In consequence of the long wars that devastated western Asia, great multitudes of fugitives had sought refuge in Arabia, heretics flying from the severities of the orthodox ; Christians escaping from Magian persecution, and Jews driven into exile by the bitter hatred of all the other parties. Could a bond of union be formed for all those fugitives which would also unite them to the gallant "sons of the desert," it appeared evident that the person who accomplished it must be secure of future greatness.

Mohammed, in the course of his commercial travels, had become well acquainted with the condition of affairs in the eastern world, and saw how such circumstances might easily be turned to his advantage. Like Mani, he resolved to become an eclectic, and form a new creed from the tenets of rival religions ; and, like that impostor, he prepared himself for his mission, by retiring for a time into solitude. He chose for this purpose a cavern in Mount Hara, about three miles from Mecca, to which he went with his wife Kadijah, and his servant Zeid. There he pretended to have received a revelation from the angel Gabriel, and persuaded his companions to believe in its truth. Zeid's faith was rewarded by the

gift of freedom, and this has since become a rule among the followers of Mohammed.

The new religion was called Islam, or "resignation;" its profession of faith was brief and comprehensive,— "God is God, and Mohammed is his Prophet." The leading article of its creed was the Unity of the Deity, a sublime truth, which he declared it was the chief object of his mission to inculcate. The practical result derived from this doctrine, was the duty of implicit resignation to the Divine will. To enforce this truth, he related many anecdotes of the dreadful punishments which God had inflicted on those who, in ancient times, had been guilty of idolatry, and had despised the inspired messengers by whom they were invited to repentance. In these historical appeals we trace the eclectic system of the impostor; he unites the old traditions of the Arabs with the histories of the Jewish prophets and the founders of Christianity. In no instance does he seem to have appealed to the Bible itself. His accounts of the Jewish prophets are derived from the Rabbinical traditions, and his narrative of Christian history from the apocryphal Gospels. To please the Magians he adopted many of their dreams respecting a future state: from their sacred books are taken the curious description of the bridge of Al Seirat, finer than the web of a gossamer, spanning the caverns of hell, over which the spirits of the departed must pass before they enter the regions of bliss; and the account of the inquisitorial angels, who are bound to examine into the life and actions of men, after they have been placed in the sepulchre.

On his return to Mecca, Mohammed made two new and important proselytes,—his cousin Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, and a chief of the Koreish, commonly known

by his surname, *Abu Bekr*. Through the influence of the latter, in the course of three years, he attached to his cause *Othman*, *Abdalrahman*, *Saad*, *Zobeir*, and *Telha*, all men of great influence in *Mécca*. He felt, however, that such slow proceedings could lead to no practical result, and he therefore, in an assembly of his kinsmen, stated to them, very fully his pretensions. The oration produced very little effect; but Mohammed had now gone too far to recede, and he began to preach in public to the people. At first he was heard with patience; but when he began to upbraid them with the idolatry, obstinacy, and perverseness, of themselves and their fathers, they were so highly provoked, that they would have offered him personal injury, had he not been protected by his uncle *Abu Taleb*. Attempts were made to dissuade the pretended prophet from persevering in his delusion, but having now made several converts, he resolved to persevere, and thus brought upon himself and his disciples the fierce hostility of the *Koreish*. The chiefs of *Mecca* soon began to persecute the adherents of the new faith; in consequence of which several fled to *Ethiopia*, where they were protected by the *Najashi*, or sovereign of that country. But persecution always strengthens a new religion: in the sixth year of his preaching, Mohammed added to his followers his uncle *Hamza*, a man of great valour and reputation, and the celebrated *Omar*, who had been previously one of his most violent opponents. In the following year Islamism made so rapid a progress among the Arab tribes, that the *Koreish* made a solemn league against the whole family of *Hashem*, covenanting that they would neither intermarry nor hold any communication with the kindred of the pretended prophet. The bond of confederacy was regularly signed,

and solemnly deposited in the Kaaba. The chief of this league was Abu Sofjan, a descendant of Ommiyah, from whom the Ommyad race of Khalifs descended. There appears, indeed, to have been for many ages hereditary animosity between the families of Ommiyah and Hashem.

In the tenth year of his mission, Mohammed told his uncle Abu Taleb, that God had revealed to him his displeasure against the covenant of the Koreish, and had sent a worm to destroy every part of the bond, except that which contained, "*In thy name, O God!*" This was manifestly the result of contrivance, and when it was declared to the Koreish, they refused to believe that it was the result of miraculous interference. Soon after this event Abu Taleb died, and Kadijah did not long survive him. Mohammed felt the loss of his wife and uncle very severely, for the Koreish were encouraged to renew their persecutions when the great protector of the Prophet was removed. In consequence of this he removed to the city of Tayef, about sixty miles east of Mecca, but, being very coolly received, he was forced to return to his former residence. Some of his followers were discouraged by this repulse; but the Prophet still continued to preach, and added to his proselytes six Jews from Yathreb, or Medina, who, on their return home, became zealous propagators of Islamism.

In the twelfth year of his mission, Mohammed taxed to the utmost the faith, or rather the credulity of his followers, by the account he gave of his night-journey to heaven. Though scarcely consistent with our limits, the narrative is too curious to be wholly omitted; we shall, therefore, give a brief abstract of this extraordinary and characteristic story.

While Mohammed was lying in a valley near Mecca, the angel Gabriel came to him, and, having wrung from his heart the black drop of original sin, placed in its stead wisdom and righteousness. Expanding then his seventy pair of wings, he went and brought to the Prophet the animal named Al Borak, or, "the Thunderer," on which all those whom God had inspired were accustomed to ride when sent on a heavenly mission. Al Borak was in size between a mule and an ass, but in shape rather resembled the latter; his face was like that of a man; his jaws similar to those of a horse; his eyes were brilliant as the star of evening, and on his sides were the wings of an eagle. He was endowed with reason, but he did not possess, or rather, he rarely exercised, the faculties of speech. When Mohammed approached, this wondrous animal endeavoured to prevent him from mounting, by plunging violently. Gabriel immediately interposed: "Stand still!" said he, "O Borak, and be obedient to Mohammed, for a greater favourite of Allah (God) never got upon thy back." Al Borak replied, "Did not Ibrahim (Abraham), O Gabriel, the friend of God, ride upon me when he went to pay a visit to his son Ismael? Is this, then, Gabriel, the promised mediator, the intercessor, the author of the new religion, whose fundamental article is, **THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD?**" Gabriel answered, "Stand still, O Borak, stand still! this is Mohammed, the son of Abdallah, the chief of the descendants of Adam, the leader of all God's ambassadors and prophets, and the seal of them all. Through his intercession shall all men hope to enter Paradise; whoever receives his words as true shall enter into the joys of heaven, but whoever accuses him of falsehood shall be cast into the flames of hell." Upon this, Al Borak said, "O Gabriel! I adjure thee, by the

friendship and alliance between thee and Mohammed, to prevail upon him to admit me into paradise by his intercession in the day of the resurrection." Upon this, the Prophet said, "Stand still, Borak! through my intercession thou shalt be with me in Paradise!" On hearing these words, the animal received Mohammed on his back, and, ere the eye could wink, conveyed him to Jerusalem.

On their arrival in the "holy city," they entered the temple, where they found a great number of the ancient prophets assembled to welcome their new colleague. After this a ladder of light was let down from heaven, which Mohammed and the angel Gabriel ascended. They soon reached the lofty portals of the first heaven, and knocked at the massive gates. They were opened at the first summons, and Mohammed beheld within many signs and wonders. He saw Adam, the progenitor of the human race, who hailed him as the best of his sons, and entreated his prayers. He saw the stars suspended by massive golden chains from its silver pavement; around him were the angels that preside over animals, each in the shape of that species entrusted to his guardianship: among these, the most remarkable was the cock Ziz, from whose spurs to his beak would measure the space of five hundred years' journey. And all the angels paid homage to Mohammed.

In the second heaven the travellers met Noah, but the traditions do not agree respecting his companions. They passed on to the third, where they met Azrael, the recording angel, who writes down the birth, the length of days, and the hour of decease, for every mortal; hence he is also called the Angel of Death. In the fourth heaven, Mohammed was received by Idris, or Enoch, who had been translated thither without suf-



fering the pains of death. Aaron was the most conspicuous person in the fifth heaven, and Moses in the sixth. At length they reached the seventh heaven, over which Abraham presided, but holding himself as the Vicar of Issa (Jesus), to whom even Mohammed acknowledged himself inferior. After this he was led to the tree Sedra, which grows on the right of the divine throne; its fruits are shaped like water-pots, and are sweeter than honey; one of them alone would be sufficient for the sustenance of all earthly creatures; its leaves are like the ears of an elephant, and countless angelic creatures in its branches eternally sing the praises of the Omnipotent. Beyond this tree archangels dare not advance; but Mohammed was allowed to pass it, and to stand in the Ineffable Presence. The leading precepts of the new law were then revealed to him, and the formulary of his faith was ordained to be, "God is God, and Mohammed is his Prophet." Though between each of the seven heavens a space of five hundred years' journey intervened, yet the entire travels of Gabriel and Mohammed only occupied a single night: when they returned to earth, the day was beginning to dawn over Armenia. On reaching Jerusalem, Mohammed took leave of his angelic companion, and was instantly transported by Al Borak to the valley near Mecca.

This narrative has all the appearance of a dream; and such it probably was, but altered and modified by subsequent thought. Imagination has frequently presented to the sleeper similarly gorgeous creations, and it is not always possible to discriminate between enthusiasm and imposture. We believe that both were united in the character of Mohammed, and that, in this instance, we have a mixture of vision and invention. The tale, when

related by the Prophet to his followers, seemed so very absurd, that none would believe it, until Abu Bekr swore that he credited "the Apostle of God." This happy incident not only destroyed scepticism, but fixed the credit of the Prophet for the future.

In the twelfth and thirteenth years of his mission, a great change took place in the religious system of Mohammed, occasioned principally by the rapid progress of his doctrines at Medina. Hitherto he had declared, that his business was only to preach and admonish, that he had no right to use arms, and that his only weapons should be, his powers of persuasion. No sooner, however, did he find that he could muster sufficient followers, than he pretended to have received a revelation, granting him the right of defensive war, which, as his strength increased, he changed into a command to propagate his religion by the sword. The league which the impostor had formed with the people of Medina justly alarmed the Koreish, and they resolved to free themselves from all danger by his assassination. Having received timely warning of the plot, Mohammed privately escaped, leaving Ali wrapped in his cloak, to mislead the conspirators. He fled, in company with Abu Bekr, to a cavern in Mount Thur, near Mecca, and thus avoided the pursuit commenced by his enemies the instant they discovered his departure. After leaving the cave, he was met by a hostile party, but, through the indecision of its commander, was allowed to continue his journey uninjured. At Medina the Prophet was welcomed with the utmost enthusiasm. The day of his entrance into that city is the epoch used by all Islamite nations; it is called the æra of the Hejira, or "Flight," and it was July 16th, A. D. 622.

The inhabitants of Medina, almost to a man, em-

braced the creed of the fugitive, and at his command incorporated with their tribes all the exiles that had been expelled from Mecca. Having erected his first mosque, or temple, and made several ceremonial regulations, he prepared to take vengeance on the Koreish, and succeeded in capturing several of their caravans. The victory he gained over them at Bedr, in which he assured his followers that he had been miraculously aided, greatly raised the spirits of Mohammed's followers, and filled the Koreish with confusion. About the same time, he was united in marriage to his favourite wife Ayesha, to whom he had been betrothed when she was a mere child.

During his residence at Medina, the pretended Prophet subdued several of the surrounding tribes, and had several engagements with his old enemies, the Koreish, in which he was generally, but not invariably, the conqueror. About the same time also he began to persecute the Jews, for whom he had hitherto shown great partiality, in the hope that they would acknowledge him as their Messiah. He also showed that moral principle had little effect in regulating his conduct, by increasing the number of his wives and concubines beyond the limits that his own law prescribed, and pretending that his excesses were sanctioned by Divine Revelation.

In the sixth year of the Hejira, Mohammed set out on his return to Mecca at the head of about fourteen hundred approved soldiers. He pretended that his intention was to make a peaceable pilgrimage to the Kaaba; but the Koreish, justly suspecting his designs, refused him admission. The war was averted, and Mohammed led his forces back to Medina. From this city he addressed letters to the principal sovereigns of the East, declaring his mission, and summoning them to

believe on his name. Khosrou Parviz, King of Persia, tore the letter to pieces, and, according to some accounts, slew the messenger; the Emperor Heraclius temperately but peremptorily rejected the application; evasive answers were returned by others; but the King of Bahrein, an Arabian district, became a convert. In the eighth year of the Hejira, Khaled and Amru, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, became proselytes. It required but little penetration to discover their merits, and Mohammed immediately entrusted both with high commands. Khaled soon showed himself worthy of such favour by totally defeating a large army of the Greeks at Muta in Syria, after three generals had been slain. In consequence of this victory, the Prophet gave Khaled the honourable designation of "The Sword of God." Soon after this victory, the Koreish, having broken the truce, Mohammed advanced against Mecca with an army of ten thousand men. The citizens were utterly unable to resist such a force, and surrendered at discretion. Their leader saved his life by professing Islamism: twenty-eight of his followers were slain by the fiery Khaled, but the Prophet interfered to save the life of his countrymen, and permitted the execution of only four persons, who had been guilty of apostasy.

The submission of the Koreish was followed by that of all the neighbouring tribes, who had been accustomed to regard them as the chief tribe of the nation. In the course of the year Mohammedanism was established throughout Arabia, except in the district of Yamama, where an impostor named Moseilama had appeared as a rival prophet, and maintained his ground until he was subdued by Abu Bekr, after the death of Mohammed. Before the capture of Mecca, the prophet had been

poisoned by a Jewish woman at Khaibar, and though recovered by the speedy application of antidotes, he never afterwards regained his former health. Scarcely had he established his authority over the entire Arabic peninsula, than he was attacked by a violent disease in the head, which soon displayed mortal symptoms. Notwithstanding the severe pain he suffered, Mohammed insisted to the last on officiating in the ceremonials of public worship. He died at Medina, in the eleventh year of his mission; his last words, addressed to his wife Ayesha, were, "yes, with the celestial companions," from whence and from some other circumstances we are inclined to believe that towards the close of his life the impostor became the victim of his own delusions. He was buried at Medina, which continues to the present day a place of pilgrimage for those who have adopted his doctrines. The Koran,\* or Scripture of the Mohammedans, was written from the Prophet's dictation at different times by his secretaries; it was revised and formed into a volume, as we have it, during the reign of his successor Abu Bekr; but we have no means of knowing what alterations were made by the editors. In its present state it contains many gross inconsistencies, and its accommodation to the circumstances of Mohammed's wants and desires is manifest on the slightest inspection. But it also contains many moral precepts, worthy of attention because they have been borrowed from the Holy Scriptures, the only safe guides to true morality, because they are the only guides to pure religion.

\* The word signifies "that which ought to be read."

## CHARLEMAGNE.

BORN A. D. 742—DIED A. D. 814.

THE successors of Clovis were a race of degenerate and feeble monarchs; they became virtually the slaves of their ministers, named "Mayors of the palace;" at length the last nominal sovereign Childeric was dethroned by Pepin, whose usurpation was sanctioned by Papal authority. Many circumstances had combined to give the bishops of Rome, or Popes, as they were called from some unknown period, an authority over the Christian nations of the West, which speedily degenerated into sacerdotal tyranny. Not the least of these was a general hostility to the claim of sovereignty, gravely propounded by the emperors of Constantinople, when they had neither ability nor means to establish their pretensions. The people of Italy, wearied by the pride and cruelty of the Greek rulers, who had governed their country since the time when Belisarius and Narses had wrested the peninsula from the Goths, gladly supported the papal authority as a rival to the imperial; and the clergy of western Europe were eager that the Bishop of Rome should be Head of the Christian Church; since otherwise the title would be claimed by the patriarch of Constantinople. The recognition of Pepin as king of the Franks, was, therefore, more than a matter of form; it was a ratification of his title by an authority which the nations of the West had combined to render supreme, because it saved them from paying homage to the emperors of the East.

Seven years before Pepin seized the throne of France, his son Charles was born. Though a child, Charles shared in the pompous ceremonies of his father's in-

auguration, for Pepin, with politic foresight, represented his elevation to the throne as conferring by implication royal dignity on every member of his family. Scarcely had the prince reached his twelfth year, when he was sent by his father to welcome Pope Stephen, who had come to France as a suppliant for aid against the rapidly increasing power of the Lombards.\* Pepin, grateful for the aid he had received from the Holy See, addressed remonstrances to Astolphus, king of the Lombards, who sent in return an ambassador whose presence was little expected, and by no means welcome. This was Carloman,† the brother of Pepin, who had taken the monastic vows, and resided within the confines of Lombardy. At the general assembly of the Frankish nobles, Pepin declared his resolution to become the champion of the church, and his subjects enthusiastically applauded his determination. An immense army was assembled, and marched under the command of the monarch towards the frontiers of Italy; Carloman remained at Vienne in Dauphiny, where he soon after died, whether from disease or the contrivance of his brother is uncertain.

The Lombards met the invaders in their hilly frontiers, and were severely defeated. Pepin pushed forward with the bold celerity for which his race was distinguished, and laid close siege to Pavia, within whose walls Astolphus had sought refuge. While the Lombard capital was closely invested, bands of plunderers spread over the surrounding country, and devastated it with merciless ferocity. Astolphus was forced to solicit

\* The Lombards were more properly called Long-bards, from their "long barts," or pikes.—*Thierry*.

† Carloman and Charles, (more properly Karl,) are derived from the Teutonic *Kertl*, "a stout man."—*Wachter's Glossary*.

peace, which was granted on the condition of his surrendering to the Roman Pontiff the exarchate of Ravenna, and the territories of the Pentapolis. In consequence of these concessions, the popes from henceforth ranked as temporal princes.

It is not certain that Charles accompanied his father in the war against the Lombards, but he acted a distinguished part in the invasion of Aquitaine, which ended in the annexation of that fine province to the dominions of Pepin. The king did not long survive this new acquisition; he died at Paris, bequeathing his territories in equal shares to his sons Charles and Carloman.

The reign of the two brothers began in coldness and mutual suspicion; Carloman withheld all aid from Charles when he marched to suppress the rebellion of Aquitaine, and thus afforded his brother an opportunity of displaying those statesmanlike and military qualities which have procured him the name of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great. With an inferior army he advanced so rapidly that the insurgents had not time to concentrate their forces, and were so terrified, that they dispersed of their own accord. The conqueror was contented with enforcing submission; he imprisoned the chief of the insurrection, but granted a full pardon to all the rest. Carloman was enraged at the fame and authority which his brother had acquired, and there was reason to dread that his jealousy would lead to a civil war. But the princes were reconciled by the interference of their mother Bertha, a lady highly distinguished for her prudence and virtue. She also negotiated a marriage between her son Charlemagne and the daughter of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and succeeded in effecting a union, though opposed by the



Pope, who naturally was displeased at the prospect of an alliance between his inveterate enemies and his gallant defenders. But the marriage accelerated the evils it was intended to prevent; Charlemagne, in defiance of every remonstrance, repudiated his wife, and immediately after gave his hand to Hildegarde, the daughter of a Suabian nobleman. About the same time Carloman died suddenly; his widow instantly fled with her children to the court of Desiderius, and intreated that monarch's protection. The subjects of the deceased prince unanimously resolved to have Charlemagne for their sovereign, and thus the French dominions were again united into a single monarchy. Desiderius menaced war, but had not means to put his threats into immediate execution. Charlemagne was prevented from punishing the Lombards by the appearance of a more formidable enemy.

The tribes in the north and west of Germany were still idolaters; they had formed a confederation for the purpose of devastating the neighbouring states, and as the leading tribe was that of the Saxons, its name was gradually made to include all the others. The eastern provinces of France had suffered very severely from the depredations of those barbarians, and the monarch could have devised no expedition more popular, nor more politic, than the invasion of the Saxon territories. Charles passed the Rhine, and penetrated into the very heart of Germany without encountering any serious opposition. He captured the strong fortress of Eresburg, and soon after made the more important acquisition of the Irminsula, the great idol of the Saxon nation. This is supposed to have been a column originally erected in honour of Arminius, the great hero of the Germans in their wars with the Romans, which was subsequently

changed from the reverence of the Franks destroyed all the symbols of idolatry they found; during a severe drought, a sudden torrent, occasioned by the melting of mountain-snows, filled the bed of a river, persuaded them that their enterprises were miraculously favoured, and added fanaticism to their courage. Finally the Saxons submitted to Charlemagne, and gave hostages for their future good conduct.

During the Saxon war some important events occurred in Italy, which called the attention of Charlemagne to the affairs of that peninsula. Desiderius, having vainly besought the Pope to acknowledge the royal title of the sons of Carloman, invaded the ecclesiastical territories, and advanced with his Lombards to the very gates of Rome. A hasty messenger was sent to demand assistance from France; Charlemagne felt himself bound to aid the pontiff, whose friendship for him had been the sole cause of the enmity of the Lombards; but willing to avert war, he sent ambassadors to remonstrate with Desiderius. Their mission was ineffectual; the Lombard monarch peremptorily refused to forbear, and pressed more vigorously the siege of Rome. The French king immediately assembled his forces, and led them over the Alps, like Hannibal of ancient, and Napoleon in modern times.

Desiderius heard with surprise that his enemies had forced a passage over the mountains, but he was not dismayed, and he resolved to check their progress ere they were free from the defiles. He took a strong position on their line of march, but, by the judicious movement of the French, his flanks were turned, and, without risking a battle, he retreated to his capital. Having strongly garrisoned Pavia and Verona, he

abandoned the rest of the country to the invaders. The governor of Verona, who had on many former occasions showed great skill and bravery, was filled with terror on the approach of the Franks; he abandoned the city after a feeble resistance, and fled for refuge to the court of Constantinople. Among the prisoners were the sons and wife of Carloman, but there is no record of the manner in which they were treated by the conqueror. The siege of Pavia was protracted through the entire of the year, and as the city was still obstinately defended, Charlemagne resolved to visit Rome, and receive the honours which were prepared for him by the Pope and his subjects. He was received with great enthusiasm, and hailed as Patrician, the title borne by the military governor of Rome during the middle ages. Soon after his return to the camp, Pavia surrendered; Desiderius and his queen were sent into a monastery, and Charlemagne was crowned king of Lombardy, with the iron circlet usually worn by the Lombard kings.

Scarcely had Italy been tranquillized when the active monarch led his forces against the Saxons, who had taken advantage of his absence to renew their devastations in France. Once more he subdued the barbarians, and received hostages; but before the war was quite concluded, he learned that fresh troubles in Italy again required his presence. The rapid march of Charlemagne disconcerted the plans of his enemies; he subdued the Lombard insurgents, and strengthened his garrisons in northern Italy, and then returned to conquer the Saxons a third time, for they had taken advantage of his absence to renew the war. The easy conquest of the Saxons was owing to their want of a leader, possessing sufficient talent to command the obedience of

independent and rival tribes, but the time was fast approaching when they were to be guided by a chief worthy to compete with Charlemagne himself. This was Witikind, prince of the Westphalians, who zealously laboured to unite his countrymen in a national confederacy. But before his machinations produced their full effect, the French king was engaged in a new and perilous war.

A century had not elapsed from the death of Mohammed, when his followers, commonly named Saracens, had subdued western Asia and northern Africa. Count Julian, having received a grievous insult from his sovereign Roderic, invited the Arabians into Spain, and in less than four years that peninsula, with the exception of a few remote and mountainous districts, was subjected to their sway. The Saracens soon crossed the Pyrenees, but the valour of Charles Martel saved France, and probably Europe; they were defeated with great slaughter, and driven back beyond the mountains. In Spain, however, they had established a powerful monarchy, superior in civilization to any then existing; but it was at this time disturbed by a dispute, at once political and religious, respecting the successorship to the Khalifate. A fugitive prince sought the aid of Charlemagne, and that monarch soon led his forces over the Pyrenees. He easily subdued the frontier provinces of Spain, and gained a decisive victory over the Saracens at Saragossa; but before he could complete his conquests, he was obliged to withdraw his forces for the protection of his own dominions, menaced by a new invasion of the Saxons. The rear-guard of the French army was commanded by Roland, or, as he is called by the Italians, Orlando, the nephew of Charlemagne. It escorted the baggage and treasure, and consequently it

was soon left behind by the first division of the army. No danger, however, was dreaded, as they had to pass through the territories of the Gascons, which had been some years before added to the French dominions.

Lupo, the duke of the Vascones, or Gascons, was avaricious and treacherous; he knew that Roland had in his charge the plunder of the Saracens, and he trusted that his seizure of it would escape punishment in consequence of the Saxon war. Suspecting no danger, Roland's men entered the gorge of "the dewy valley," or Roncesvalles; but scarcely had the last ranks entered the defile, when suddenly the hills and woods that shut it in were bristling with Gascon warriors. Arrows, stones, missiles of every description were hurled on the devoted heads of the Franks; it was not a battle but a slaughter. Even in this dreadful hour, Roland and his companions maintained their high character; they fought gallantly to the last, and fell unconquered. The Gascons, satiated with carnage, and rich in plunder, dispersed themselves over their mountains, and thus for a time escaped the vengeance of Charlemagne.

The memory of the battle of Roncesvalles, preserved by tradition, has given rise to an infinite number of poetic and romantic fictions. We quote the two following stanzas, from the siege of Valencia, by Mrs. Hemans:—

" In the gloomy Roncesvalles strait  
There are helms and lances cleft;  
And they that moved at morn elate  
On a bed of heath are left!

There's many a fair young face

Which the war-steed hath gone o'er;

At many a board there is kept a place

For those that come no more!—

There is dust upon the joyous brow,  
 And o'er the graceful head;  
 And the war-horse will not wake him now,  
 Though it bruise his green-sward bed!—  
 I have seen the stripling die,  
 And the strong man meet his fate,  
 Where the mountain-winds go sounding by,  
 In the Roncesvalles strait."

The devastations of the Saxons under the guidance of Witikind exceeded anything that had been witnessed in Europe since the days of Attila. A contemporary poet thus describes the ruin they spread:—

"Alike to them were sex, and age, and state,  
 Nought could avail to check their cruel hate,  
 And nought the fury of their wrath withstand,  
 But sword and fire consumed the hapless land."

On the receipt of the intelligence that Charlemagne had returned from Spain, the Saxons retreated; but they were overtaken by the Franks at the river Adern, and routed with such slaughter, that few survived to carry home the news of the defeat. Charlemagne, in the following year, invaded Saxony, and did not desist until the country was thoroughly subdued, and formally annexed to his dominions. The code of laws which he issued for the government of the conquered country was atrociously severe; he denounced death against all who persevered in idolatry, or relapsed from the Christian religion. Such edicts cannot be defended, but they may in some degree be excused by the ignorance of the age, and the ferocious character of those whom the monarch had to coerce. Fresh commotions were excited in Italy, by the intrigues of the court of Constantinople, and the exertions of Tassilo duke of Bavaria. They were quieted by the appearance of Charle-

magne; he entered into alliance with the empress of the East, and he compelled Tassilo to renew his homage, and give hostages for his very doubtful fidelity. During the short interval of peace, the wise monarch made vigorous efforts to extend civilization among his subjects, and to restore the seminaries of learning which had fallen into decay. In these labours he was assisted by Alcuin, a British priest, of Saxon descent, who was the most accomplished scholar of the age.

Notwithstanding all the precautions that had been taken, the Saxons, instigated by Witikind, again revolted, and obtained a great victory over the French army through the misconduct of its generals. The king hastened to chastise the insurgents; at his approach they were seized with terror, and again endeavoured to procure pardon by submission. Charlemagne exacted severe vengeance, and ordered four thousand five hundred of the most criminal to be executed in one day. Again the Saxons took up arms, but they were routed in two dreadful battles, which left them without hope for the future. Witikind himself resigned the contest in despair, and coming to the court of the conqueror, was initiated by baptism into the Christian Faith. A revolt in Brittany was easily quelled; but the alliance between the dukes of Beneventum and Bavaria and the Byzantine court rendered the king's authority in Italy very precarious. The death, however, of the duke of Beneventum, the arrest of the Bavarian Tassilo before his plots were ripe for execution, and the defeat of the Greek forces, finally restored tranquillity to the peninsula.

The long wars between the Franks and the Avars, who were descended from one of the hordes that had accompanied Attila, were comparatively of little im-

portance; they terminated in the total defeat of the barbarians: but though Charlemagne subdued their fortresses in Pannonia, he was unable to maintain possession of the country. An interval of tranquillity followed, which was first interrupted by the detection of a domestic conspiracy. The French nobility, wearied by the pride and cruelty of the queen Fastrada, resolved to destroy both her and her husband, and to bestow the crown on "Pepin the hunchback," the natural son of the monarch. A monk discovered the plot by accident, and revealed it to the sovereign; several of the conspirators were executed, and Pepin was condemned to the seclusion of a monastery. Scarcely had this danger been averted, when news arrived that the Saxons were again in arms, that they had been joined by the Huns, and had massacred a large army of the Franks. At the same time news arrived that the Saracens had invaded France, defeated the count of Toulouse, and ravaged the southern provinces, and that the duke of Beneventum had renewed the war in Italy. The vigorous monarch promptly proceeded to punish the Saxons; he encountered but a feeble resistance, yet to prevent future insurrections, he adopted the cruel measure of depopulating the country, and dispersing its inhabitants. Pepin, the legitimate son of Charlemagne, whom his father had created king of Italy, was sent to invade Hungary; he was completely successful, and he captured the great fortress, called "the Ring," in which the Avars had stored all the plunder acquired from their incursions both in the west and east of Europe. These vast stores were divided among the Franks, and greatly enriched the nation.

Louis, whom his father had nominated king of Aquitaine, was as successful in Spain as his brother had



been in Hungary. The powerful diversion made by his attack on the Saracens enabled Alphonso, king of the Goths, to extend his dominions, and permanently establish a Christian kingdom in the peninsula. The fame of these victories brought embassies to the court of Charlemagne from the greatest contemporary potentates. Of these the most remarkable was an embassy from the celebrated Haroun al Raschid, the most celebrated successor to the Khalifate. The eastern deputies brought with them several remarkable pieces of clock-work, which proved that at this period the eastern nations far surpassed the Europeans in the mechanical arts.

About this time a new enemy appeared on the coasts of France; their first invasion was easily repelled, but they were destined at no very distant day to prove the most dangerous foes that the Franks had hitherto encountered. These were the Northmen, or Normans, pirates from the distant shores of Scandinavia, who devastated the coasts of southern Europe, and fled to their ships with their plunder, before troops could be collected to punish their atrocities. The wise monarch felt little joy at the retreat of these ferocious invaders; he gazed after their departing vessels with tearful eyes, declaring that he wept for the calamities which he foresaw they would inflict on the country at a future period.

A conspiracy to murder Pope Leo exploded in Rome; the pontiff with difficulty escaped from the hands of the assassins, and sought refuge with the French monarch. To investigate the cause of this outrage, and to aid his son Pepin in his war against the duke of Beneventum, induced Charlemagne to undertake his last journey into Italy. He acquitted Leo of the charges brought against him, and punished those who had so grossly outraged

the pontiff. But in return, solemnly crowned his benefactor EMPEROR OF THE WEST. There was even a chance that he might once more re-establish the ancient empire of the Romans by a marriage with Irene, the empress of the East, but this was prevented by the factions of Constantinople; they probably dreaded the vigorous government of such a sovereign as Charlemagne.

On his return to France, the emperor executed an instrument, bequeathing his dominions to his three sons in nearly equal portions; the arrangement was approved by the great council of the Frankish nation, and sanctioned by the Pope. But two of these princes died shortly afterwards, and Charles presented his only surviving son Louis to the great assembly of the nobility at Aix la Chapelle, as his heir in the empire. He was soon after attacked by pleurisy, and died in the seventy-second year of his age.

Few monarchs have been more beloved by their subjects than Charlemagne, and the universal sorrow displayed at his death reflects more honour on his memory than the fame of the many victories he obtained, or the glory of the mighty empire he founded.

## ALPHONSO THE GREAT,

KING OF LEON AND OVIEDO.

BORN A. D. 848—DIED A. D. 912.

WE have already mentioned the Moorish invasion of Spain, and the maintenance of their independence by some Christians who had sought refuge in the mountains. Among these, a new kingdom was founded by Pelayo, which gradually acquired strength, so that in

the middle of the ninth century, the Moorish monarchs, even in their metropolis of Cordova, had learned to dread the gallant chivalry of Leon. Ordogno, the brave sovereign of this little Christian state, having acquired great glory by many heroic actions, persuaded his subjects to elect his son Alphonso as his present associate and future successor in the kingdom. Scarcely had this been accomplished, when he died of the gout, and was succeeded by Alphonso, who had only just attained his eighteenth year.

The young monarch had scarcely entered on the possession of his royal dignity, when he learned that Don Froila, who commanded the army in Galicia, had proclaimed himself king, and was rapidly marching towards the capital. Alphonso was wholly unprepared for this event; he therefore adopted the advice of his friends, and sought refuge in Castile. Froila took possession of Oviedo, but soon finding that his usurpation was very unpopular, he began to treat his subjects with the most tyrannical cruelty. The Spaniards of that age were as much distinguished by their attachment to freedom, as they have since become for their love of despotism and slavish usurpation: a conspiracy was formed against the usurper, and he was slain before he had been many weeks on the throne. Intelligence of the event was immediately transmitted to Alphonso: he returned to his capital, and was received with joyous acclamations, in which the supporters of Froila heartily joined,—for they had been wearied by his petulant tyranny.

After his restoration, the young monarch diligently applied himself to securing his kingdom from the aggressions of the Moors, by erecting fortresses along the frontiers. His labours were interrupted by two rebellions in the province of Alava; but the promptitude

with which he marched against the insurgents disconcerted their measures, and pardon was freely granted on their submission. Mohammed, the Moorish sovereign of Cordova, learning the assiduity with which his Christian neighbour was fortifying his kingdom, became alarmed, and resolved to invade Leon while the country was yet open. He sent two powerful armies into the country, in order to distract the Christians; but Alphonsq was thus enabled to attack and defeat them separately, though, had they been united, his little army would have been overwhelmed. In the same year he married Ximena, the daughter of the King of Navarre, and formed with his father-in-law an offensive and defensive alliance against the Moors. • • •

The additional strength acquired by this league enabled the King of Leon to invade the territories of Mohammed. The Moors were unable to meet him in the field: he was permitted to ravage the country almost without interruption, and he returned to his own dominions loaded with plunder. Convinced, however, that predatory warfare could only produce temporary advantage, he began in the following campaign to take measures for securing his conquests by rebuilding the cities and fortresses which had been ruined in the wars. Coimbra was thus fortified, and made the bulwark of his new frontier. Mohammed made the most strenuous exertions to check the progress of the Christians; but his armies were successively routed by Alphonso, and he was forced to beg a truce for three years. The Christian monarch, however, did not very strictly observe the conditions of the truce, having aided Abdallah, a Moorish general, who raised an insurrection against his master, the King of Cordova. His design in this was probably to keep his enemy employed while he

laboured to reform the civil administration of Leon and Oviedo.

————— But in these cases  
We still have judgment here ; that we but teach  
Bloody instructions, which being taught return  
To plague the inventor. This even-handed justice  
Commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice  
To our own lips."

Mohammed in turn supported a rebellion against Alphonso, which created for him difficulties infinitely greater than the Moorish wars. The King of Leon defeated the insurgents, and took their leaders, Froila and Veremond, prisoners, whom, according to the barbarous custom of the age, he deprived of sight. Veremond, however, soon after made his escape, and fortified himself in Astorga, which he defended obstinately, in the hope of obtaining relief from the Moors. Alphonso engaged the rebels and their Mohammedan allies near the river Ezla, routed them with great slaughter, and soon forced Astorga to surrender. The Moorish monarch upon this renewed the truce, but at the same time sent pressing messages to his brethren in Africa, demanding assistance. A new prophet had at this time appeared in Morocco, who proclaimed that he was commissioned to announce the speedy triumph of Islamism. Abdallah, who then reigned in Cordova, gained this impostor over to his cause, and by his influence obtained from Africa a numerous auxiliary force, filled with the desperate bravery of enthusiasm. Alphonso met the invaders on the frontiers: the battle was long and severe; but in the end, the Moors were totally defeated, and the false prophet was among the slain. The victory was followed by a predatory in-

cursion into the Moorish territories, from whence the Christians returned loaded with spoil.

Old age did not weaken the faculties and energies of Alphonso. • He continued at once to extend and strengthen his kingdom ; but the taxes he was compelled to impose for the purpose of erecting fortresses, alienated the affections of his subjects. A conspiracy was formed for deposing the monarch ; and his son, Don Garcias, was the chief contriver of the plot. The treason was detected, and the criminal Prince was imprisoned. The Queen Ximena, and the young Prince Ordogno, remonstrated harshly with the monarch, and threatened to effect the liberation of Garcias by force of arms. Alphonso, to avert the horrors of civil war, convened a general assembly of the states of Leon : he brought his two sons into the council, and made a brief speech, in which he observed, that having, during the course of a long life, and a long reign, invariably sought to increase the happiness and gratify the desires of his subjects, he would not now, in his old age, change his conduct, but would, in obedience to their wishes, resign the crown to Don Garcias, and the province of Galicia to Don Ordogno. The Princes, who little expected such a declaration, threw themselves at their father's feet, and implored his forgiveness: he raised them tenderly, repeated his determination to abdicate, but promised to aid the new monarch with his advice and counsel.

Alphonso not only kept his promise, but served under his son as lieutenant in a campaign against the Moors, in which his triumphs were greater than in any of his former expeditions. He died soon after his return home, universally regretted, and his son Garcias did not long survive him.

Alphonso is justly celebrated for his piety and learning: his Chronicle of Spanish History, written amid the harassing cares of war and government, is a monument of both, and is, indeed, one of the most interesting pieces of ancient Spanish literature.

## OTHO THE GREAT.

BORN A.D. 912—DIED A. D. 972.

THE mighty empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces after his death: Germany was separated from France, and the custom was established of electing an Emperor by the suffrages of the German Princes. Conrad of Franconia was the first raised to this dignity by vote: he was succeeded by Henry, surnamed the Fowler; and on his death the Imperial dignity was conferred on his son Otho. The election took place at Aix-la-Chapelle, where also the ceremony of the coronation was performed with some new and imposing circumstances. The nobility having assembled in the cathedral, the Archbishop led Otho into the midst of them, and addressed the congregation in the following terms:—"I here present to you, Otho, chosen of God, formerly destined to the Empire by his father Henry, and now elected into that supreme station, by all the Princes here assembled. If this election is agreeable to you, hold up your hands in token of your approbation." Every hand was instantly raised, and the church resounded with plaudits and acclamations.

Otho was then conducted to the high altar, on which the regalia were placed, when the Archbishop, girding on his sword, said:—"Receive this sword, and use it against the enemies of Jesus Christ, as well as those who unworthily profess his name; and employ the

authority and power of the Empire, which God hath put into your hands, to confirm and preserve the peace of the Church." Then putting on the mantle of state, he continued:—"Remember with what fortitude and fidelity you are obliged to maintain peace and tranquillity to the end of your life." Lastly, presenting him with the sceptre and mace, he added:—"Warned by these emblems, inflict upon your subjects no other than paternal chastisement; extend your mercy and compassion to the ministers of God, to the widow and to the orphan; let the balm of your pity never cease to flow, that when you lay down your corruptible crown, it may be exchanged for the heavenly crown, that is incorruptible and eternal." After these exhortations, Otho was anointed by the bishops, and the Archbishop placed the crown upon his head. He then ascended the throne, on which he sat during the remainder of the service: he was then re-conducted to the palace, where he dined in public, the bishops sitting with him at the table, the nobles acting the part of attendants.

It was the fate rather than the wish of Otho to be perpetually involved in war. Though deservedly celebrated for his military talents, he sought more eagerly to be distinguished as a legislator than as a warrior: but the Germans had not yet learned to value the arts of peace, and the nations by which they were surrounded afforded them no leisure for their cultivation. In the very beginning of his reign, the Emperor had to repel the incursions of the Hungarians; and scarcely had they been driven back, when he was involved in a war with Boleslaus, the usurping Duke of Bohemia, which lasted fourteen years.

The turbulent spirit of the German princes furnished the Emperor with other employment during this long



interval. The Bavarian princes throw off their allegiance; the Dukes of Franconia and Saxony harassed each other by private wars. Otho, by a judicious exertion of authority, checked these disorders, but in order to apply an effectual remedy, he convoked a diet. An incident that occurred at this national council was very characteristic of the spirit of the age. It was debated "whether children could inherit the property of their fathers during the lifetime of the grandfathers?" After a long debate, in which the point became more obscure than ever, it was gravely resolved that the difficulty should be decided by a duel. An equal number of combatants being chosen on both sides, they entered the lists; and the champions of the children having obtained the victory, the process was decided in their favour.

The want of fixed laws of inheritance led to a more grievous calamity, a civil war. Some of the German nobles, weary of having their excesses controlled by such a vigorous monarch as Otho, resolved to raise on the throne a more compliant sovereign. They persuaded Henry, the younger brother of Otho, that he had a better title than his brother to the imperial dignity, because he had been born after the elevation of their father to the throne. The young prince raised the standard of rebellion, but his forces were routed with great slaughter, and he was compelled to seek refuge with the king of France. He was subsequently reconciled to his brother; he revolted again, and was again pardoned, after which he continued to behave as a faithful subject.

The king of France was, after the German war, involved in a conflict with Hugh, count of Paris, who was destined to become the ancestor of a new line of

monarchs. Louis sought the assistance of Otho, which was cheerfully granted. The allies advanced almost to the very gates of Paris, but instead of besieging that capital, they turned off towards Rouen. The Normans had ere this formed a settlement in France, and given their name to one of its finest provinces; they were joined in close alliance with Hugh, and on their desperate valour he principally relied when he resolved on defying the king and the emperor.\* Nor was this confidence disappointed; the Normans defeated the vanguard of the allied army when they approached Rouen, obstinately defended the city when a siege was formed, and finally compelled the besiegers to retire with great precipitation. They even pursued the emperor in his retreat, and severely harassed his rear. Otho saw that little was to be gained by this war; but unwilling to desert his ally, he offered his services as a mediator, and negotiated a truce between Hugh and Louis. Soon after, he gained a decisive victory over Harold king of Denmark, and granted peace to that monarch on the condition of his allowing the Christian religion to be preached in his dominions. Equal zeal for the progress of Christianity was shown by the emperor in the terms he granted to the rebel Boleslaus; he was pardoned on the conditions of repairing the churches he had destroyed, recalling the Christians he had exiled, performing public penance for his fratricide, and holding his dominions as a fief of the empire.

In the midst of these successes, his assistance was implored by Alix, widow of Lothaire, the late king of Italy, who was threatened with the loss of her dominions by Beranger the younger. The pope joined in her supplications, and Otho, passing the Alps, speedily restored the tranquillity of the peninsula. Pleased with

the beauty of Alix, he offered her his hand, which was accepted, and the nuptials celebrated with great splendour. Ludolph, the emperor's son by a former marriage, was so displeased at these second nuptials, that he rebelled against his father, but was very speedily subdued. He was pardoned, but he never forgave himself for the ingratitude of which he had been guilty. Soon afterwards the prince was sent to deliver the Italians from the tyranny of Beranger, which he effected. But the people thus liberated proved anything but grateful; they overwhelmed Ludolph with reproaches for his youthful errors, particularly dwelling on his revolt against his father, and such was the effect of their reproaches on the sensitive mind of the young prince, that he died of a broken heart.

The death of Ludolph enabled Beranger to renew his oppressions, and the most earnest solicitations were addressed to Otho for immediate assistance by the pope, and other Italian princes. The emperor yielded to their entreaties: accompanied by his empress, he passed the Alps with a numerous army, and marched directly towards Rome. His arrival in the city was hailed with the utmost enthusiasm; he was dignified with the title of Augustus, crowned emperor of the Romans, and acknowledged by the pope as Supreme Head of the Church. After receiving these honours, he marched against Beranger, who was soon forced to surrender himself, and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Scarcely had the emperor withdrawn his forces from Rome, than pope John began to intrigue against his authority; he formed a league with his ancient enemy Albert, the son of Beranger, and received him into the city. When the news reached Otho, he promptly retraced his course, and having again entered the city, he

compelled both the senate and people to renew their oath of allegiance. He then summoned a council for the trial of pope John, whose immoralities were unfortunately flagrant and notorious. The charges against him contained a dreadful catalogue of crimes, but we cannot vouch for the integrity of the witnesses, or the impartiality of the court. He refused to appear before the tribunal, and having been thrice summoned in vain, he was condemned as contumacious. Leo VIII. was elected in his stead, and he renewed to the emperor the oath of fidelity and allegiance, and conceded to him full authority over all ecclesiastical appointments.

Scarcely had Otho returned to Germany when John, with a strong body of adherents, raised a new insurrection, deposed Leo, and again took possession of the papal chair. But he did not long enjoy it, having been assassinated by a young nobleman whom he had rivalled in the affections of his mistress. The adherents of John still refused to acknowledge Leo, and elected Benedict successor to the murdered pontiff. But the return of Otho to Italy threw them into confusion; Benedict hastily tendered his submission to Leo, by whom he was banished; and the Roman nobility and clergy promised the emperor that they would never confer the pontifical dignity on any but a native of Germany. After the death of Leo, John XIII. was elected pontiff on the nomination of the emperor. The turbulent Romans soon broke out into rebellion, and threw the pope into prison; but Otho soon returned to Italy, and not only restored John, but also severely punished the authors of the revolt. At the same time he caused his son to be crowned as his associate and successor, having previously secured the concurrence of the German states. The young emperor was married to the By-

zantine princess Theophania, but not before her father Nicephorus had displayed some of the treachery which characterized the Greeks of the lower empire.

Luitprand, an ecclesiastic who was sent by Otho to demand the hand of the princess, has left us a most amusing account of his reception at Constantinople. Nicephorus imprisoned the unfortunate ambassador, overwhelmed him with the grossest insults when he dared to complain, half poisoned him with the abominations of Byzantine cookery, and shocked his religious prejudices by sundry observances which the western churches regarded as mortal sins, and the eastern looked upon as absolutely essential to salvation. Luitprand took a characteristic revenge: he scrawled on the walls of his chamber some barbarous verses, vituperating Constantinople and all that it contained more bitterly than poetically; he wrote to his master a long epistle descriptive of his suffering among those "beasts in semihuman shape" to whom he had been sent, and quitted Constantinople with a fierce malediction on a capital so inhospitable and heretical. He draws the following curious portrait of Nicephorus.

"I found him," says the enraged prelate, "a man perfectly monstrous, pigmy-sized, fat-headed, mole-eyed; with a short, broad, coarse, and greyish beard, covered, like Iopas, with long thick hair; an Ethiopian in colour, one whom you would not like to meet at midnight; pot-bellied, with thighs disproportionately long, legs very short, splay-footed; clad in a woollen robe of a dirty-whitish colour, offensive to the smell from its age and filth, wearing Sicyonian shoes, insolent in speech, a fox in cunning, a Ulysses in perjury and lying."

To this by no means flattering portraiture Luitprand

adds, as an edifying comment, his explanation of a prophecy which was at the time current both in eastern and western Europe. This popular prediction was—"The lion and the cub shall destroy the wild ass;" which the Greeks understood to signify that the emperors of Rome and Byzantium should unite to subdue the Saracens. Luitprand indignantly rejects this explanation; he proves indisputably that Nicephorus had no claim to be regarded as a lion, but infinitely more resembled the wild ass; he asserts that the lion and cub were manifestly Otho and his son, to whom he promises an easy victory over the ass Nicephorus, if they should turn their arms against the east. We shall conclude our account of this very rare and curious document, by extracting the worthy bishop's valediction to Constantinople.

"On the second of October," says he, "at ten o'clock, having departed from that city, once most opulent and flourishing, but now starved, perjured, deceitful, lying, fraudulent, rapacious, covetous, avaricious, and vain-glorious, after forty-nine days of ass-riding, walking, horse-driving, hungering, thirsting, sighing, groaning, weeping, and scolding, I arrived at Naupactu "

Otho did not long survive the marriage of his son, he died of apoplexy at Minleben in Saxony, after a reign of thirty years, during which he gave extraordinary proofs of uncommon generosity, piety, and courage, and justly acquired the appellation of "The Great." His body was borne to Magdeburg, and buried in the cathedral church, where his tomb is still to be seen, with an inscription to the following effect:

Beneath this marble tomb a monarch lies,  
Whose loss a threefold share of grief must claim;  
Religion's friend—a ruler brave and wise—  
His weeping country's highest joy and fame.

## JOHN ZIMISCES.

2. BORN ABOUT 920—DIED A. D. 968.

HAVING in the lives of Charlemagne and Otho given an account of the restoration of the Western Empire, we must turn our attention to the East, where the Constantinopolitan Empire, still retaining the proud name of Roman, continued its feeble and lingering existence. Some slight sketch of the state of this empire is necessary, as an introduction to the biography we are about to relate; and the following, which has been already published in a leading periodical, has, at least, the merit of being brief.\*

“The fortunes of the Byzantine, or Eastern Empire, present phenomena unparalleled in the history of the human race: no other government, of which we have either read or heard, could have resisted for half a century the operation of any of the single causes which, during a thousand years, combined for its destruction. Externally surrounded by foes superior in number, in discipline, and in valour, it seemed as if its safety was guaranteed by cowardice, and its security confirmed by defeat. Internally were at work all the causes that usually effect the destruction of states; perfidy and profligacy triumphant in the palace—ferocious bigotry, based at once on enthusiasm and hypocrisy, ruling the church—civil dissensions, equally senseless and bloody, distracting the state—complete demoralization pervading every rank, from the palace to the cottage—such were the elements of ruin, not antagonized but combined, whose destructive energies slumbered not during

\* It is extracted from the Foreign Quarterly Review, No. XIX.  
*“ut quiddam notum propriumque.”*

ten centuries, and were yet resisted by an empire, which, to call feeble, would be sadly to overrate its strength. Constantinople, designed by its founder to be the capital of an empire that should unite the power of the eastern and western world, and make its rulers successors at once of Cyrus and Cæsar, combined in its government all the faults of Roman and Persian despotism, possessed the merits of neither, and surpassed the duration of both. The centralization of feeling, which made every citizen through the vast extent of the Roman dominions regard the City of the Seven Hills as "the home of his soul," was lost when the palladium of empire was removed from the banks of the Tiber to the shores of the Bosphorus; but craft, cunning, fraud, treachery, and all the vices of unlicensed despotism, accompanied the court, and were the only faithful companions of its emigration. The tinge of eastern habits and feelings which the Imperial Government received by its closer approximation to Asia, brought to the monarch no additional assurance of safety: the submission of the Asiatic is blind and unreasoning, a prostration of intellect as well as of body; he submits to tyranny as he would to fate, and regards the decrees of despotism as fixed as those of destiny. In outward form the Greek crouched as low as the Persian—the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance fell more glibly from his tongue; but there was a mental reservation in his loyalty, a secret condition understood in his allegiance, and he hesitated not to join in conspiracy or revolt, if the Emperor professed an obnoxious doctrine, disregarded the reveries of some favoured theologian, or admired the blue more than the red chariots of the circus. The problem to be solved in the history of most dynasties is, 'Why they fell?' but



the Byzantine alone perplexes us with the inquiry, 'Why it did not fall?'—a difficulty of which it is by no means easy to obtain a satisfactory solution."

In the tenth century the crimes of the Byzantines seemed to have reached their consummation; monarch after monarch perished by poison or the dagger of the assassin; parricide and fratricide were crimes of such ordinary occurrence, that they ceased to excite feelings of horror and disgust. The provinces of Asia were overrun by the Saracens, and they would probably have been able to view Constantinople from the opposite shores of the Bosphorus, had not their progress been checked by the valour of Nicephorus Phocas. The young Romanus, who nominally swayed the sceptre, was the slave of his queen, the infamous Theophara, and the eunuchs of his palace. Though young and handsome, his weak and cowardly character displeased the Empress, and she transferred her affections to Nicephorus, whose military fame atoned for his deficiency in personal accomplishments. She is said to have poisoned her husband; but whether guilty of this crime or not, he was no sooner dead, than she usurped the regency, and recalled Nicephorus to court. Joseph, the prime minister, felt jealous of the general, but was deceived by an extraordinary artifice. Nicephorus asked to be favoured with a private audience, and having obtained his request, he assured the astonished minister, that, regarding worldly grandeur with the contempt it merits, he had long panted for the seclusion of monastic life, and would long since have retired from the world, had not he feared to prove himself ungrateful for the confidence reposed in him by the emperors. To give effect to his words, he showed a hair-cloth,

which he pretended that he wore constantly next his skin.

The credulous Joseph began now to regard the artful Nicephorus as a saint: he fell at his feet, asked pardon for his suspicions, and declared, that he would in future disregard all suggestions to his disadvantage. He then permitted the general to return to the army; but soon after, finding how grossly he had been deceived, he wrote to John Zimisces, who held a subordinate command, promising him rich rewards if he would arrest Nicephorus, and either confine him in a monastery, or put him to death. Zimisces had risen from a subordinate station by valour and conduct: he felt grateful to Nicephorus, who had been the first to patronize his merits, and he entertained a soldier's contempt for the treachery and intrigues of such miserable politicians as Joseph. Instead of obeying, he showed the letter to his general and advised him to proclaim himself Emperor. After a disgusting exhibition of hypocritical reluctance, Nicephorus consented; the soldiers, with the utmost enthusiasm, swore to support his title, eagerly demanding to be led against his enemies.

When the news of these events reached Constantinople, the multitude, with whom Nicephorus was a favourite, at once espoused his cause, and tumultuously attacking the prime minister and his adherents, levelled their houses with the ground, and plundered their properties. Soon after, the usurper entered the capital without opposition: he banished Joseph to Paphlagonia, and confined him in a monastery, where he soon died unlamented.

In the second year of his reign, contrary to the advice of his best friends, he married the Empress Theophano,

an imprudent match, which greatly disgusted his subjects. Soon after, he dismissed from his service Burtzas, who had recovered the city of Antioch from the Saracens, and Zimisces, to whom he owed the crown. Such gross ingratitude changed these brave generals from zealous friends into active conspirators. They found an ally in the Empress Theophano, who soon became weary of her new husband; for, as we have already seen from the description of Luitprand, his figure was not the best calculated to engage and secure a lady's affections. This wicked woman introduced Zimisces and the other conspirators by night into the palace, and led them in person to her husband's room. Nicephorus fell beneath their daggers before he could summon the aid of his attendants: his head was cut off, and shown to the guards, on which they quietly submitted.

Zimisces, being proclaimed Emperor, began his reign by dismissing all the ministers of Nicephorus, and recalling all the exiles he had banished. Though he owed the crown to Theophano, he was anxious to remove one whose crimes had rendered her universally detested: this he effected by concerting with the Patriarch, or Bishop of Constantinople, a solemn farce, which would give him the appearance of acting under compulsion. When he presented himself to be crowned at the cathedral church of Saint Sophia, the doors were shut in his face, and the Patriarch appeared, declaring, that he would not permit a person polluted with the blood of his sovereign to enter into the holy place. Zimisces, with great humility, declared his ready submission, but alleged that Nicephorus had not been murdered by him, but by Abalantius, at the instigation of the Empress. To this the Patriarch replied, that it was his duty to banish them both, and to repeal all the edicts which his

predecessor had published to the prejudice of the church and the priesthood: he readily promised compliance, adding, that as an atonement for his tacit participation in the late treason, he would give his paternal property to feed the poor. Upon this, the Patriarch ordered the gates of the cathedral to be thrown open, and readily performed the ceremony of coronation. Theophano was banished into Armenia, and confined in a monastery.

The new Emperor took the princes Basil and Constantine, the sons of Romanus and Theophano, for his colleagues, and caused their title to be acknowledged by the senate and people of Constantinople. In the mean time, the Saracens, having learned the death of Nicephorus, raised the most numerous army they had yet assembled, and laid siege to Antioch. Zimisces appointed the eunuch Nicolas general of the army he sent against them, and ordered him to move rapidly, lest the city should fall before the multitude of the besiegers. So promptly did Nicolas advance, that his arrival was the first intelligence the Saracens received of his march: they were completely surprised, and routed with great slaughter. In the following year, the Rossi, a new tribe of Scythian warriors, having driven out their predecessors, the Bulgarians, took possession of their country, and advanced into the empire with a very numerous army. As the invasion was wholly unexpected, the frontiers were but slightly guarded, and they were enabled to lay waste a great part of Thrace, and even to besiege Adrianople, the second city of the empire.

Zimisces at first endeavoured to negotiate with the barbarians, but finding that they rejected all terms of accommodation, he ordered his brother-in-law, Bardas, surnamed Sclerus, or the Bold, to collect what troops

he could, and march against them. In consequence of the Saracenic war, most of the Imperial forces were engaged in Asia, and Bardas, by his utmost efforts, could only assemble thirteen thousand men—a very inadequate army to meet three hundred thousand. But the talents of the general compensated for this deficiency: he decoyed a large body of the enemy into an ambuscade, and cut them off to a man. He then attacked the main body by surprise: the undisciplined barbarians, thrown into confusion by the unexpected assault, were unable to form into line, and were cut down almost unresistingly. The Imperial army slew or captured the greater part of their barbarous enemies: night alone saved the entire from destruction, and this brilliant victory is said to have been obtained with the loss of only twenty-five men.

But the success of his government did not deter several of the nobility from conspiring against a sovereign whose vigorous administration restrained their excesses. They chose for their emperor Bardas Phocas, the nephew of the late Nicephorus, and commenced their rebellion by seizing the city of Cesarea, in Cappadocia. Sclerus was sent to suppress the revolt: at his approach, the greater part of the insurgent nobles either fled or submitted, and Phocas, thus deserted, was forced to surrender at discretion. The Emperor granted him his life, but banished him to the island of Chios.

Scarcely had these commotions been suppressed, when a new war with the Rossi engaged the attention of the Emperor. Zimisces took the command of his army in person, and having led them over the mountains; invaded the territories which the Rossi had wrested from the Bulgarians. He invested Persthalba, the capital of Bulgaria, and pushed on the siege with

vigour, before the Rossi had recovered from their surprise at his unexpected appearance. A party of eight thousand men attempted to throw themselves into the town, but they were intercepted and cut to pieces. Animated by this success, the Imperial forces, having vainly offered the garrison terms, assaulted the walls, and took the city by storm: a part of the Rossi escaped to the citadel, but they were closely pursued by the victorious Zimisces, and a scene ensued precisely similar to that which Sir Walter Scott describes at the storming of Bruce's Castle.

Mad with success, and drunk with gore,  
 They drive the struggling foe before,  
     And ward on ward they win,  
 Unsparing was the vengeful sword,  
 And limbs were lopp'd and life-blood pour'd,  
 The cry of death and conflict roar'd,  
     And fearful was the din !

The startling horses plunged and flung,  
 Clamour'd the dogs till turrets rung,  
     Nor sank the fearful cry,  
 Till not a foeman was there found  
 Alive, save those who on the ground  
     Groan'd in their agony !

The Rossi raised an immense army to avenge their losses. They were met by the Imperialists on the banks of the Danube, and one of the fiercest engagements recorded in history ensued. It lasted from the early dawn to the approach of night, victory inclining sometimes to one and sometimes to the other. Darkness was beginning to close round the hosts, when the eagle eye of Zimisces detected some confusion in the enemy's left wing: he immediately charged at the head of a chosen body of cavalry, and bore down all op-

position. Animated by the Emperor's example, his soldiers made the most vigorous efforts against the centre and right wing, which at length gave way. The Rossi fled in confusion, and were pursued with great slaughter. The shattered relics of the defeated army found shelter in Dorosterum, which was closely besieged. Two desperate efforts were made to relieve the garrison, but they completely failed, and the Rossi were forced to solicit terms of peace. Zimisces, having repaired and strengthened the frontier line of fortresses along the Danube, returned to Constantinople, where he was received with the loudest acclamations. During a brief campaign in the East, after the war with the Rossi had been terminated, the Emperor recovered several cities which the Saracens had wrested from the Byzantine dominions. But, on his return to his capital, an incautious phrase led to his destruction: having heard that the finest estates which he saw along the road were the property of the eunuch Basilius, who had shared in the administrations of several successive reigns, he exclaimed, "How unfortunate is the condition of the empire, to be thus pillaged by an ambitious eunuch!" Basilius soon received information of the occurrence, and fearing to be called to account for his peculations, he bribed the Imperial cup-bearer to poison his master. Zimisces met death with the fortitude of a warrior and a Christian: he forbade his friends to investigate the treason of which he was the victim, declaring, that he heartily forgave his enemies, and that an attempt to revenge his death might peril the safety of the empire. Thus perished the best of the Byzantine emperors, at the moment when his piety, courage, and moderation had rescued it from impending ruin, and revived, for a brief space, the days of its former glory.

## HILDEBRAND, COMMONLY CALLED POPE GREGORY VII.

BORN A. D. 1020—DIED A. D. 1085.

THE progress of papal usurpation has been already noticed incidentally, and we are now about to relate the life of the Pontiff under whom it became a power paramount to that of all the European sovereigns. The great advantage possessed by the Romish See in its struggle with kings and emperors was its permanence. While successive revolutions changed dynasties and overthrew monarchies, the Church continued immutable: it could consequently retain all the advantages it had once gained; it could sell its aid to the best bidder when opposite parties courted its alliance, and it was always prepared to seize its share in a general scramble. But, on the other hand, when the nobles of Italy had attained the rank of petty princes, and the German Emperors had extended their sway beyond the Alps, the great influence possessed by the Popes led them to desire a share in the pontifical elections, and not unfrequently to insist on their right of nomination. It is not easy to conceive how the pontiffs could be possessed of formidable power, at the moment that they were slaves either to aristocratic factions or despotic autocrats: but such was the case; for the tyranny of the Emperors was only exercised occasionally, but the claims of the Popes to rule the consciences were never allowed to fall into desuetude.

Hildebrand was born of humble, but not poor parents, in the little town of Soano. From his earliest years he displayed great love of learning, extraordinary abilities, and a firmness of character rarely to be found in



boyhood. His uncle was abbot of the monastery of Saint Mark, at Rome; and this was probably the circumstance which determined his parents to give him an ecclesiastical education. His progress in study was wonderful, and, what was unusual in that age, he acquired a deep and accurate knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. In order to extend his theological researches, he went to the celebrated monastery of Clugni, over which Saint Odilo then presided, and for seven years devoted himself to the study of ethics and canon law. At the early age of twenty-four, he was chosen by Odilo to reform the abuses which had crept into the Roman monasteries, and he executed the difficult task with equal zeal and discretion.

Before his arrival the death of Pope John had disturbed the precarious tranquillity of the Romish church. A Tusculan count procured the election of his son, a youth only ten years old, and the boy was consecrated Pope under the name of Benedict IX. In the course of a few years, the new pontiff, as he advanced to manhood, displayed so much tyranny and cruelty, that the Roman people entered into a conspiracy, and forced him to fly for his life. A new Pope was elected, who took the title of Silvester III.; but Benedict having in the mean time collected a formidable force, his rival could make no resistance, and the exiled pontiff returned in triumph. He soon after sold his crown to a priest named Gratian, who, chiefly by the exertions of Hildebrand, was acknowledged as Pope under the title of Gregory VI. This third head of the church proved a better ruler than his predecessors: he expelled the robbers and freebooters that infested the roads around Rome; he opened a secure passage for the pilgrims who wished to visit the shrine of St. Peter; and he

vigorously exerted himself to reform the administration of justice. The enemies of order were displeased by the vigorous proceedings of Gregory: they sent complaints to the Emperor of Germany, Henry II., and that sovereign soon entered Italy at the head of a powerful army. Having investigated the circumstances of the late papal elections, he ordered Benedict, Silvester, and Gregory, to be deposed, and then procured the election of a fourth Pope, the Bishop of Bamberg, who took the title of Clement II., but who was by no means anxious for such an elevation. Gregory and Hildebrand were driven into exile: they retired to Clugni, where Gregory died of vexation, leaving Hildebrand the heir of his wealth and his resentment. Clement was poisoned by an emissary of Benedict, nine months after his consecration; and his successor, Damasus II., shared the same fate. When the news reached Hildebrand, he immediately departed for the Imperial court, hoping to have some influence in the nomination of the next Pope, but on the road he learned that the Diet at Worms, under the sanction of the Emperor, had elected Bruno, Bishop of Toul, as Leo IX.

Bruno was a man of good principles and strict integrity, but of weak understanding. He was fitted by nature to be the dupe of one so able and artful as Hildebrand, and, after his first interview with the ambitious monk, he became his willing instrument. Hildebrand accompanied Leo to Rome, having previously exerted all his craft and all his influence to procure him a favourable reception. The grateful pontiff loaded Hildebrand with ecclesiastical dignities, and he united in his person the titles of Cardinal, Sub-deacon, Abbot of St. Paul, and Keeper of the Altar and Treasury of St. Peter. The exertions of the Pope for the reforma-

tion of the church were unremitting: he held synods and councils without number, and enacted countless laws, in which the most frivolous and the most important matters were strangely blended. In the fifth year of his reign, he marched an army against the Normans in the south of Italy, and was unfortunately made a prisoner. Though kindly treated by his captors, the indignity pressed heavily on the sensitive mind of the pontiff; and these feelings were embittered by the reproaches heaped upon him by some of the clergy, for having desecrated his holy office by appearing in arms. He was brought back to Rome in all safety and honour by Unfred, a Norman count; but affliction shortened his days, and he died soon after of a broken heart. There are some writers who ascribe this fatal event to the machinations of Hildebrand and the deposed Benedict, asserting, that the cardinal-monk, to please the ex-Pope, had betrayed his benefactor to the Normans; but the evidence on which the accusation rests is very questionable.

Benedict once more reascended the throne, but found in Hildebrand an active and energetic opponent. The monastic orders were the firm supporters of Hildebrand, whom they justly regarded as the pride and ornament of their body, and by their means he was enabled to gain a commanding influence over the Roman populace. He announced, indeed, that the entire Roman people had delegated to him their share in the nomination of a new pope; that Benedict was universally regarded as a usurper, and that a new election was necessary to the safety of the Church. The emperor yielded to the eloquent remonstrances of Hildebrand; he selected as pontiff Gebeard, Bishop of Aichstet, who took the title of Victor II. Benedict made some weak efforts at re-

sistance ; but finding that his cause was unpopular, he retired to one of his castles, where he soon after died.

The reasons that induced Hildebrand to support the Imperial cause on this occasion are sufficiently obvious. A German pope, unacquainted with the customs and manners of Italy, must of necessity have been guided by his ministers, and the cardinal-monk hoped to exercise the same authority under Victor that he had possessed in the reign of Leo. The new pope was not long installed, before he discovered the thralldom in which he was held by Hildebrand ; anxious to get rid of " the viceroy over him," he sent the ambitious minister into France as his legate, under the honourable pretence that extensive reforms were required in the Gallican church. The proceedings of the legate were vigorous in the extreme ; at the council of Lyons he excommunicated several immoral priests and bishops ; at Clugni he sentenced to death several monks, who had broken their monastic vows. He then proceeded to a synod at Tours, where the alleged errors of Berenger were condemned. After spending about a year in France, Hildebrand was recalled to Italy by the pope, and became again his chief adviser and director. Soon afterward Victor died, and his successor Stephen IX. soon followed him to the grave.

A double election ensued : Mincius bishop of Villettri, nicknamed the Stupid, was chosen tumultuously by the Roman people, and took the name of Benedict X. Hildebrand and the imperialists chose Gerard bishop of Florence, whose ecclesiastical designation was Nicholas II. Benedict, unable to compete with his rival, was deposed and shut up in prison, where he died of vexation. The Normans, who had settled in the south of Italy, had become more amenable to the church, than

when they met Leo in the field. Anxious to obtain some security for their conquests, they tendered their alliance to the pope, on the condition of his confirming their titles. Nicholas readily granted to Robert Guiscard the title of Duke, and the investiture of all the lands that he had conquered or should conquer in Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria. The readiness with which the pope granted that to which he had no right, would probably have subjected him to some inconvenience if the emperor Henry were alive ; but he had fallen in the prime of life, leaving his sceptre to be swayed by an infant under the guidance of an ignorant regency. Hildebrand saw the advantages which the church possessed at the crisis, and it was by his advice that Nicholas thus openly exercised the functions of an independent sovereign. Aided by the ferocious Normans, the pope punished his enemies in the Roman territory with the utmost severity ; indeed, it is to these ravages that the depopulated condition of the country round Rome, even at the present day, must be attributed. Scarcely however had this "peace of desolation" been accomplished, when its author died, under circumstances that give rise to a strong suspicion of poison. c

The enemies of Hildebrand do not scruple to attribute the great mortality of the popes to his secret machinations. He had in early life studied chemistry, which in an ignorant age was regarded as magic, and as he knew how to mingle the poisoned cup, so it was presumed that he sometimes tried the experiment. After carefully examining all the evidence, we find against him many suspicious circumstances, but no positive proof of guilt.

A double election followed now, almost as a matter of course ; but on this occasion Hildebrand was found

opposed to the Imperialists, and the acknowledged leader of the Italian factions. Cadislaus, called Honorius II. was chosen by the emperor; Anselmo, denominated Alexander II. was the nominee of Hildebrand. We say of Hildebrand, for the cardinal-monk had now become the supreme regulator of temporal and spiritual affairs in the Roman state, and had been invested by the multitude with despotic authority. A fierce battle was fought before the gates of Rome, in which Cadislaus was for a short time victorious; but the arrival of duke Godfrey with an auxiliary body of Tuscans changed the fortunes of the field, and Cadislaus was forced to fly. Alexander thus remained nominally in possession of the throne; but Hildebrand really held the sovereignty, and used it to massacre all who had dared to oppose his will. The defeated Cadislaus was pertinaciously persecuted, and a daring stratagem was devised to deprive him of the imperial protection. A bishop was deputed to invite the young emperor to dine on board his magnificent bark; but no sooner had he entered the vessel than he was seized and carried as a prisoner to Cologne. At a council held in that city, the right of Alexander was solemnly recognized, and Cadislaus condemned as an antipope, and these decrees were re-echoed at Rome by the nobles and people.

But this did not put an end to the war between Cadislaus and Alexander, which raged with great fury in Rome and other parts of Italy. The exertions of Hildebrand were incessant; he leagued himself with all the mercenary bands of freebooters that abounded in Italy, and by their aid he prevailed over his enemies in every quarter. No authentic records have been preserved of the time, place, or circumstances, of the death of Cadislaus, but we learn incidentally that he was long

supported by a great body of the Italian nobles and clergy, and was to the day of his death regarded as chief Pontiff by his followers. \*

Neither the ambition nor the cares of Hildebrand were confined to the struggles in the Italian peninsula; he took advantage of the popularity which the pretensions of the mendicant friars had given their order throughout Europe, to establish for himself an interest in every nation of Christendom. He kept a diligent watch over the emperor Henry, sent legates to Norway and Denmark, permitted the kings of Bohemia to wear the mitre, and diligently exerted himself to forward the Norman conquest of England; because he saw that the success of William the Conqueror would greatly extend the influence of the Holy See.

Harold, the last Saxon monarch of England, had, during a visit to Normandy, sworn a compulsory oath to favour the succession of duke William; and what in that age was regarded of paramount importance, he had sworn on a chest of relics collected from all the surrounding churches. When, therefore, on the death of Edward, he accepted the crown proffered by his countrymen, he was regarded not as a patriot resolved to maintain the independence of his country, but as a perjured wretch who had violated the most solemn obligations. All these topics were discussed in the conclave of Lateran by Alexander and Hildebrand; but there were other circumstances which had no small effect in determining their decision. The Norman duke affected towards them the air of a plaintiff, acknowledging the competency of their jurisdiction, and professing to submit wholly to their judgment. Harold, on the contrary, refused to recognise the papal right, to assign a sovereign to a free people; he was well aware that

however just his cause, the decision would be in favour of the Norman, who had secured the support of the powerful Hildebrand, and he resolved to rely on his good sword and the valour of his subjects. Almost with one accord, it was resolved in the Papal council, that William, being cousin and heir to the late king Edward, might justly seize upon England as his legal inheritance. A bull containing this decision was sent to the duke, and at the same time were transmitted to him, a blessed standard, and a ring containing a hair from the head of Saint Peter, enclosed in a diamond of great value. But we learn from a letter subsequently addressed by Hildebrand to William, that there were some in the conclave who opposed this iniquitous interference with the rights of nations, and severely reproached Hildebrand for advocating the cause of a tyrannical usurper.

But Hildebrand did not extend to the Normans in Italy the same favour which he showed to their brethren in England; he marched against them at the head of the forces of the Countess Matilda, and forced them to restore all the territories they had usurped from the Holy See. The Countess Matilda was the daughter of Duke Boniface, and the step-daughter of Duke Godfrey, to whom the duchess Beatrice gave her hand after the death of her first husband. Matilda and her mother were devotedly attached to Hildebrand, and gave him the uncontrolled management of their dominions. Anxious to retain this sovereignty, he violently opposed a marriage between Matilda and Godfrey Gobbo, the son of duke Gobbo by his first wife. The marriage was within the strict letter of the canonical degrees, but had still something in it revolting to the feelings; it was, however, consummated, and Hildebrand, who dreaded



the acute and independent mind of Gobbo, laboured sedulously to counteract its effects. The young emperor Henry had in the mean time shaken off the papal trammels; but found that his subjects were enamoured of the yoke, and had been gained over to the support of ecclesiastical domination by the artifices and exertions of the monks and preaching friars. It must be confessed, however, that the violence with which the emperor acted was too well calculated to defeat his object by alienating the affections of his subjects. The princes of Saxony accused him at Rome of tyranny and rapacity; several prelates complained of his interference with ecclesiastical discipline, and the pope, or rather Hildebrand, in his name, summoned the emperor to appear before the tribunal of Saint Peter. Henry would in all probability have replied to the audacious insult by visiting Rome at the head of an army, but he was delayed by the necessity of checking his refractory vassals in Saxony, and before he had succeeded in tranquillizing that province, he received intelligence that pope Alexander was no more. More had been done during the reign of Alexander to extend the authority of the papacy, than in any former pontificate; but this was not to be attributed either to the faults or the merits of Alexander, who was a mere instrument in the hands of an ambitious minister. We have taken no notice of the numerous miracles attributed to him and Hildebrand by the monkish historians; a greater miracle than any of them was, that rational beings could be found sufficiently credulous to believe for a moment one of those monstrous absurdities.

There were few in any part of Christendom who did not dread the accession of Hildebrand to the papacy,

but there were none who dared to brave his resentment by vigorously resisting his election. The terror of his name was fully established in Italy, and it was by no means destitute of influence beyond the Alps. He had in his long career displayed unquestionable abilities of the highest order ; his pretensions to ascetic piety gained him the enthusiastic admiration of the multitude ; the soldiers revered him as a brave warrior and successful general ; the higher ranks of the clergy yielded in the council to his fervid eloquence and political skill. He was besides severe, vindictive, and inexorable ; he knew not what it was to forgive, none of his enemies could evade the patient search and the incessant vigilance with which he pursued those against whom he treasured wrath. It was his custom to witness the execution of those whose death he decreed, and it was awful to contemplate the serenity of his countenance and the complacency of his manners while he presided over tortures and massacres. It is scarcely a matter of surprise that the power of such a man should have swept over Christendom like a torrent, and hurried everything into the vortex of his new and gigantic institutions. •

Immediately after the death of Alexander, the Roman populace demanded the election of Hildebrand so furiously, that the terrified cardinals fled for refuge to a church. They were followed thither by the mob, and compelled to yield to the popular wish, and Hildebrand at once entered on the pontificate, taking the title of Gregory VII. By a hypocritical pretence of submission, he prevailed upon the emperor of Germany to ratify this tumultuous election, and he led an army in person into southern Italy, to enforce the submission of the Norman dukes. Scarcely was he established on the

throne than he bent all his efforts to attain his favourite objects, the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, and the papal right to the investiture of bishops.

For the establishment of both these objects many plausible pretences might be pleaded; a clergyman, unencumbered with family cares, could devote his whole attention to the flock entrusted to his charge; a prelate without children was free to exercise his patronage, and had no domestic endearments to warp his judgment. On the other hand, men were thus forced to sacrifice the purest and best of human affections, those that naturally spring up in the domestic circle. But the great object with the pope was to establish an ecclesiastical autocracy, and for this purpose to make the church at once the home and the country of every one who embraced the ecclesiastical profession. The priest and the bishop, after ordination, were no longer Germans, French, or English, they became Romans; ministers and peers of a stupendous empire which claimed to extend over the whole globe. "Like the envoy or minister of any foreign government, he observes the laws of the state in which his master may have placed him, and respects, for a time, the authority of the local magistrate: but his order is his country, the pontiff is his natural sovereign, and their welfare and their honour are the appropriate objects of his public cares."\*

The administration of ecclesiastical patronage by the emperor and other temporal princes was liable to gross abuses, and had actually led to many. In the darkness of the middle ages, when nobles and sovereigns could scarcely write their names, when the knowledge of the alphabet was so rare as to be regarded as a spell against witchcraft, and when the warlike virtues were valued

\* Phelan's Policy of the Church of Rome.

above all others, it seemed a useful change to give the prelatical appointments to the great depositaries of all the learning of the age. • It is needless to dwell upon the still higher claims made by the pontiffs as Vicars of Jesus Christ, and inheritors of his visible throne; still less shall we expose such blasphemous assumptions; it is only our design to show that higher and purer motives than those of personal aggrandizement may have mingled with the bold speculations of the daring Hildebrand. It is undeniable that the corporate power he procured for the Church became in many European countries a source of much benefit during the middle ages; overawing the violent, protecting the forlorn, mitigating the prevailing ferocity, of manners, and supplying in various ways the defects of civil institutions.

The first synod convened by Gregory VII. at Rome, adopted, without much hesitation, the several regulations he proposed for the purification of the ecclesiastical body. Its several sentences and decrees were communicated to the sovereigns of Europe by Gregory himself, in letters that must ever remain a monument of his consummate abilities. His monstrous claims, for the universal supremacy of the church, are proposed in a tone of affected humility that was well calculated to win the unthinking; his dictations assume the form of affectionate suggestions, and his remonstrances are like those of a tender and affectionate father. But the emperor Henry was not deceived by the papal professions; he hated the pope in his heart, and had good reason to believe that the enmity was reciprocal. It was, therefore, with mingled jealousy and indignation he saw Rome become the capital of a new power, whose sovereign assumed the right of judging, without appeal, all things human and divine; and who had thus erected a

formidable bulwark against the boundless authority previously possessed by the emperors of Germany. Both parties were however forced to dissemble for the moment, and Hildebrand was allowed to pursue uninterruptedly his great plan for remodelling all the churches of Europe, and establishing everywhere papal uniformity.

The gigantic mind of Gregory conceived a project worthy of his talents and his fame. Having driven Robert Guiscard from the south of Italy, he proposed that all the western princes should join him in an expedition to Constantinople, for the purpose of rescuing the Eastern Empire from the Saracens, and re-uniting the Greek and Roman churches. This scheme was frustrated, however, by the hostility of the Emperor Henry, who had secretly entered into alliance with Robert Guiscard against their common enemy, and who would certainly have taken advantage of Gregory's absence to restore the Imperial power in Italy. While Henry was employed in the Saxon war, a tumult, headed by a Roman noble, named Cencius, had nearly proved fatal to the Pope: he was attacked by the insurgents while celebrating mass, and dragged away as a prisoner. But the Roman populace rushed to arms, Gregory was rescued from his enemies, whom he severely punished, and Cencius fled for refuge to the court of Henry. The Emperor, soon after, having conquered the Saxons, thought that it was no longer necessary to temporise: he assembled at Worms a synod of the princes and prelates devoted to his cause, and procured a vote deposing Gregory. The Pope retorted by convoking a council at Rome, in which Henry was solemnly deposed and excommunicated. Some cautious prelates advised Gregory not to be so hasty in excommunicating a king: to

their remons trance he replied in the following memorable words:—"When Christ trusted his flock to St. Peter, saying, 'Feed my sheep,' did he except kings? Or when he gave him the power to bind and loose, did he withdraw any one from its visitation? He, therefore, who says that he cannot be bound by the bonds of the Church, must confess that he cannot be absolved by it; and he who denies that, separates himself from Christ, and from his church."

A religious war was thus kindled, in which all the advantages were on the side of Gregory. At the very commencement of the struggle, Gobbo, the most formidable enemy of the Pope, and the most able supporter of the Emperor, died: his widow, the Countess Matilda, placed all her resources at the disposal of the pontiff. In every quarter of the empire, monks and friars preached against their sovereign and the prelates by whom he had been supported; the Saxon nobles prepared to renew their insurrection; the Dukes of Suabia and Caurithia openly declared that the Imperial family should be changed; and many of the Bishops who had urged Henry forward, frightened by excommunications, quitted his side. At length a diet was held at Tribur, or Oppenheim, attended by two papal legates, in which it was resolved that Henry should be deposed, unless, within a limited time, he presented himself before the Pope, and obtained absolution. In the mean time, the Lombard bishops, who had been excommunicated by Gregory, retorted his fulminations: the courage of his party in Italy revived the hopes of the Emperor, and he resolved to visit the peninsula, instead of waiting for Gregory's arrival in his dominions. The hardships which the unfortunate monarch underwent in this journey—the hazards to which he was

exposed from his enemies—the sight of the sufferings of his queen and child, sewn up in ox-hides, and thus dragged through the Alpine passes, would have broken spirits fiercer than that of Henry. After surmounting incredible difficulties, he entered Lombardy, and there learned that Gregory had already commenced his journey to Germany, with a full resolution to enforce his removal from the empire. Powerful intercession was made with the haughty pontiff, and he was with difficulty prevailed upon to grant Henry an interview: but he yielded his consent only on the conditions, that the Emperor should lay aside his royal insignia, and declare that his crimes had rendered him unworthy to reign. Henry consented to these hard terms, and went to visit the Pope in the fortress of Canossa, where he was exposed to new and unexpected humiliations. At the first barrier, he was forced to dismiss his attendants; when he reached the second, he was compelled to lay aside his royal robes, and put on the habit of a penitent. For three entire days he was forced to stand barefooted, and fasting from morning until night, during one of the severest winters that had ever been known in northern Italy, imploring pardon of his transgressions from God and the Pope. On the fourth day, he was admitted into the presence of the pontiff, and obtained, not the removal, but merely the suspension of the excommunication.

The dishonourable attempt of Henry to arrest Gregory and Matilda by stratagem, led to a renewal of the war. Fortune now favoured Henry: he overthrew the rival Emperor that had been elected by the discontented party in Germany, and then invading Italy, he found such strong support, that he was enabled to advance against Rome. Gregory, however, had secured the

support of Robert Guiscard and the Countess Matilda, aided by whom he defied both the Emperor and Guibert, who had been declared Pope by the Imperialists. But Guiscard went to wage war against the Greek Emperor, and Gregory was consequently unable to maintain himself in the field. Twice was Henry driven from before the walls of Rome; but in his third campaign he gained over the populace by a lavish distribution of bribes, and was admitted into the city. Having seen Guibert recognized as pontiff, with the title of Clement III. he led back his army, leaving his partisans a prey to the vindictive fury of Gregory. The exasperated pontiff returned in company with Robert Guiscard, and exacted fearful vengeance. He gave up the city to the licentious fury of the Normans and their Saracen auxiliaries, who renewed the horrors of Alaric and Attila. He quitted the city, which was now an untenable mass of ruins, and retired under the protection of the Normans to Salerno. War had produced a famine, and famine was followed by a pestilence, of which Gregory was one of the earliest victims: he died unconquered, though in exile, repeating with his last breath the excommunications which he had hurled against Henry, the anti-pope, and their common adherents.

The fate of Henry may be told in a few lines. He gained little respite by the death of his formidable and inveterate antagonist. The successors of Gregory, Urban II. and Paschal II. prosecuted his views, and as strenuously supported the great struggle for ecclesiastical domination. They raised enemies to Henry in the bosom of his family, encouraged his sons in unnatural rebellions, and drew upon him the fanatical hostility of the leaders of the first crusade in their passage through Italy. For twenty years the unhappy



Emperor was persecuted by the unrelenting hatred of the ambitious pontiffs, worn down by incessant hostilities, and cut to the heart by the infamous revolt of his own children. He was at length basely deposed by his second son Henry, and died in old age, sorrow and poverty, destitute and broken-hearted.

### PHILIP AUGUSTUS.

BORN A. D. 1165—DIED A. D. 1223.

AFTER the Capetian dynasty had been substituted for that of the Carolingian, the form of government in France could scarcely be called monarchical: it was rather a confederation of feudal princes, subject nominally to the king as their feudal suzerain, but really owning no authority superior to their own interests and caprices. The Plantagenets enjoyed a far more despotic power in England than the Capets in France, and yet, ere many years elapsed, our country gained a constitution, while France was subjected to absolute despotism. Some of the fairest provinces in the present kingdom of France belonged to the English monarchy: in addition to his hereditary dominions, Normandy and Brittany, Henry II. had acquired the provinces of Aquitaine and Poitou as a dowry with Queen Eleanor, the repudiated wife of Louis VII. Through hatred of Henry, Louis strenuously supported the celebrated Thomas-a-Becket in his resistance to his sovereign, and aided Henry's unnatural sons in their long rebellion against their indulgent father. When the progress of this disgraceful war was suspended by a truce, Louis resolved to crown his eldest son Philip, whom he had surnamed Augustus, from the circumstance of his having been born in the month of August.

On the very day appointed for the ceremony, the young prince lost his way while hunting in a forest, and when discovered, had suffered so much from cold and fatigue, that he fell into a dangerous sickness which threatened his life. Louis undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas-a-Becket, who had been recently canonized, and on whose patronage he conceived that he had strong claims, to supplicate for the restoration of his son's health. But the journey proved fatal to the aged monarch ; the anxiety of his mind and the rapidity with which he travelled brought on an attack of palsy, from which he never perfectly recovered. On the restoration of Philip's health, he was crowned with extraordinary splendour ; but his father was unable to witness the ceremony, and, after lingering a few months, expired.

As Philip was only in his fifteenth year, the regency was entrusted to the Count of Flanders ; but the young monarch, impatient of control, soon took the administration into his own hands. Full of the bigotry which had been instilled into his youthful mind by the priests to whom his education had been entrusted, he commenced his reign by ferocious deeds of persecution. On the same day, all the Jews in his dominions were arrested, their synagogues turned into churches, and their estates confiscated ; they were also commanded to sell all their moveable property within a limited time, and depart from the kingdom. An edict against blasphemy was promulgated, by which profane swearing subjected the rich to a heavy fine, and the poor to the punishment of death. And finally, all who dissented from the Rom sh Church were sentenced to be burned as heretics. Having thus secured the favour of the Church, Philip prepared to gratify his ambition by

weakening the great vassals of the crown. His father-in-law, the Count of Flanders, was the first whose power he resolved to reduce, and he forced him to resign some valuable districts in the Vermandois. The English monarch would have prevented this aggrandizement of Philip's dominions, had he not been prevented by the rebellions and mutual wars of his sons Henry, Richard, and Geoffry. Philip craftily worked upon the vanity of these young princes, who, though his seniors, were the dupes of his policy; and he saw with pleasure, that their insane disputes daily weakened his formidable rival. The death of Prince Henry, in the midst of his rebellious career, sincerely grieved his fond father; but he did not the less exert himself to secure the frontiers of Normandy, by retaining the border districts which had been given to the deceased prince as a dowry with his wife Marguerite, the sister of Philip. The south of France was devastated by a furious war undertaken by an ecclesiastical army against the Albigenses, under the pretence that their heretical opinions rendered them dangerous members of society. This was, however, only the beginning of that bitter persecution which, at a later period, made the south of France a desert. The inhabitants of the provinces between the Mediterranean, the Rhone, and the Garonne, were, for the most part, vassals of the Count of Toulouse, and had attained, in the twelfth and thirteenth century, a higher degree of civilization than existed in any other part of Christendom. Their towns enjoyed municipal constitutions, and had almost the appearance of independent republics. The houses of the wealthy citizens resembled baronial castles; the sons of the merchants were eligible to the order of knighthood. Their literature was the most refined in Europe, and the Provençal language,

their literary idiom, was regarded as classical in Spain and Italy. Their Christianity was pure and ardent: it did not consist in an implicit belief of the dogmas, or a mechanical observance of the rites and ceremonies, of the Romish Church; it entered into their hearts and affections; it was the living principle of their actions. Without openly revolting from the papacy, they had anticipated, and in some measure exceeded, the religious reforms of the sixteenth century; but they had effected these great improvements slowly and silently, without the horrors of a religious war, or any burst of fanaticism. The intelligence of the increasing heresy in southern Gaul excited great indignation and alarm at Rome. The immense resources of the papal diplomacy were exerted to check its progress; pontifical couriers brought bulls of excommunication to Alby, Toulouse, and Narbonne: but the heresy had extended to the priests of the churches in which the sentences were to be fulminated; and even the bishops, though more closely connected with the Catholic system by habit and interest, found it difficult to avoid being gained over by the example of the population in the midst of which they resided. To stop this intellectual contagion, it was deemed necessary to strike the people collectively, and annihilate the social order from which its independence and its civilization proceeded. This resolution was early taken, but the Holy See delayed its vengeance until circumstances became favourable for its accomplishment.

Philip, pursuing his career of ambition, obtained several important advantages over the Count of Flanders and the Duke of Burgundy; but he found himself checked and controlled in all his efforts by the King of England. The causes of disunion between the two

kings were numerous and complicated, as was almost necessarily the case from the extensive possessions of Henry on the continent. Alice, the sister of Philip, had been affianced to Richard Count of Poitiers, Henry's second son, afterwards so celebrated as Richard Cœur de Lion; and the young princess had been sent to be educated at the British court, until she should attain a marriageable age. In consequence of the wars and mutual suspicions between Henry and his children, the marriage was delayed: but slander assigned other reasons, and it was insinuated, that the aged Henry had fallen in love with his intended daughter-in-law. Several conferences on this and other subjects of difference were held by the rival sovereigns under the elm of Gisors, which grew exactly on the confines of France and Normandy; but Philip was so frequently baffled by the superior wisdom of Henry, that he ordered the elm to be cut down, declaring, that no future conferences should be held under its shade.

Peace was at length restored for a time by the interference of the Pope, who was anxious to unite all the nations of Christendom in a new crusade. The feeble kingdom of Jerusalem had fallen before the victorious arms of Saladin, and the Saracens were in possession of the greater part of Palestine. Amongst those who attended the conference for securing tranquillity, appeared William, Archbishop of Tyre, who had been driven from his see by the conquering infidels. He exerted all the influence derived from his age, station, and eloquence, to effect a reconciliation between the sovereigns; and by his persuasion they agreed to lay aside their mutual jealousies, and unite for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre.

The enthusiasm of Richard led him to assume the

cross before any of the others; but his irascible and impetuous disposition forced them to break their engagements. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, having seized some merchants of Aquitaine, Richard immediately assembled an army of Brabançons, and invaded his territories. Unable to resist the bravest and most cruel warrior of this warlike age, Raymond sought the assistance of Philip, who instantly sent an embassy to Henry, commanding him to forbear from hostilities. Henry, in reply, declared, that he had no control over his son—a fact of which Philip was well aware; but notwithstanding, a French army invaded the territory of Auvergne, and wrested from the English its strongest fortresses. Three conferences were held between the monarchs to reconcile this new quarrel: at the last of them Henry had the mortification to see his son Richard go over to Philip, and do him homage for all the possessions of the English in France. Unable to contend against this unnatural coalition, Henry solicited the intervention of the Pope. A legate was sent to Philip with a threat, that his kingdom should be placed under an interdict, unless he instantly ceased from hostilities. But the French king had already shaken off most of his former clerical trammels: he replied,—“ Sir legate, pass the sentence, if it please thee, for I fear it not. The Roman Church has no right to harm the kingdom of France, either by interdict or otherwise, when the king thinks proper to arm against his rebellious vassals, to revenge his own injuries and the honour of his crown. Besides, I see by thy discourse, that thou hast smelled the King of England’s Esterlins.”\* To annoy Henry the more, Philip and Richard made a great

\* Money coined by the Easterlings, whence our English word sterling.

parade of their friendship, sleeping in the same bed, and drinking from the same cup. The aged monarch could not resist this new mortification: he died of a broken heart at Chinon, pronouncing a bitter malediction upon his unnatural children with his latest breath.

Richard and Philip, having renewed their vows of amity, joined in the third crusade: it belongs to the historian of these wars to relate their subsequent hostility, and the evils that resulted from their dissensions. Philip returned home, and employed himself in urging the infamous John to rebel against his absent brother; and, subsequently, he intrigued with the Duke of Austria to prolong the captivity of his dreaded rival. How greatly he feared the English monarch appears from his billet to John, when he heard of Richard's liberation: it contained the emphatic words,—“Take care of yourself; the devil is unchained!” After Richard's return to his dominions, Philip only once ventured to encounter him in the open field, when he was defeated, with the loss of all his baggage, among which were the archives of his kingdom.

The accession of John was a fortunate circumstance for Philip's future designs. His nephew, Arthur, was recognized as sovereign in the Duchy of Brittany and the surrounding districts, and the young prince claimed Philip's protection to secure him in his inheritance. Descended maternally from the native princes of Brittany, and named after the favourite hero of the Celtic tribes, Arthur was enthusiastically beloved by the Bretons. In the course of the war that ensued, he was made prisoner by his uncle, and soon found an early grave. Maddened by desire of revenge, the Bretons accused John to Philip as his feudal suzerain; and on his refusal to appear, they raised an army to enforce the

sentence of forfeiture pronounced by the French king. Normandy was invaded, and the valour of the Bretons, who little dreamed that they were forging chains for themselves, bore down all opposition. John himself made no effort to defend his dominions, but passed his time in pleasure, as if the war was a matter in which he had no concern. When the citizens of Rouen sent pressing solicitations for aid, he would not hear the envoys until he had finished his game of chess; and he then drily replied,—“I have no means of succouring you within the time appointed; so do the best you can.” Under such a sovereign it is no wonder, that in a short time the English were stripped of all their continental possessions, with the exception of Guienne.

The papal throne was at this time possessed by Innocent III., who seemed to have inherited the haughtiness and ambition of Hildebrand, but was, perhaps, inferior to him in abilities. This pontiff treated the European monarchs with more violence and haughtiness than any of them dared to show an insolent vassal. He first assailed Philip, sending him a peremptory mandate to take back his wife Ingeberga: the obedience to the order not being very prompt, he excommunicated the king, and placed his dominions under an interdict, which soon forced Philip to humble himself by a show of submission. The next monarch on whom the vengeance of the pontiff fell was John, who had refused to allow Stephen Langton, when nominated by the Pope, to take possession of the see of Canterbury. Not content with placing the kingdom under an interdict, Innocent declared the throne vacant, and offered to bestow it upon Philip. The French monarch, unwisely forgetting that such a dangerous precedent might, at a future time, be turned against himself, prepared a fleet



and army to take possession of the grant. John had, however, made his peace with the Church before the expedition could sail, and by the abjectness of his submission gained the protection of the Holy See.

Indignant at the deception that had been practised upon him, Philip continued his preparations, but was obliged to use his forces against other enemies. The Emperor of Germany, invited by the Counts of Boulogne and Flanders, and aided by the English, invaded France at the head of a powerful army. Though his forces were far inferior, Philip gave battle to the allies at Bouvines, near Tournay, and obtained a decisive victory. The Emperor Otho fled disgracefully in the first encounter: his followers, confused by his flight, fell into confusion, and were slaughtered almost unresistingly. Philip returned triumphantly to Paris, bringing with him his two chief enemies as captives, the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne. They were confined for life in the Louvre, then a castle in the vicinity of Paris, which served both for a palace and a prison.

The heresy of the Albigenses early attracted the attention of Pope Innocent, and he meditated nothing short of the extermination of the devoted race. Following the example of the crusades which his predecessors had proclaimed against the Saracens, he ordered his emissaries to preach a holy war against the inhabitants of the county of Toulouse and the diocese of Alby. He published throughout Europe, that whoever would take up arms and wage war upon them to the uttermost, should obtain remission of all his sins, and a part of the property of the heretics. Unfortunately, no time could be found more favourable for this crusade of Christians against Christians. Philip's conquests in Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine had deprived a great number of

the land-owners in these provinces of their property, and forced them to become soldiers of fortune. Companies of warlike adventurers roamed throughout Europe, offering their services to any sovereign that would take them into pay. They were superstitious, criminal, and needy: they were, therefore, glad to embrace a cause which promised pardon for their transgressions, and a remedy for their poverty. Few European monarchs dared to refuse their aid to a pontiff so ready to fulminate interdicts and excommunications. The King of France sent fifteen thousand men in his pay; John allowed the Archbishop of Bourdeaux to levy an auxiliary force in Aquitain; the petty sovereigns of western Germany gladly lent their aid. The pilgrimage against the Albigenses (such was the name given to this war,) was a less hazardous enterprise than a crusade against the Saracens, and promised greater and more immediate profits.

It would require an entire volume to relate all the atrocities committed by the papal army, blasphemously styling itself "The host of our Lord," in this new crusade. The fanatical fury of the soldiers was stimulated by the exhortations of their clerical companions. "Kill all," exclaimed a monk at the storming of Beziers, "God will recognize his own!" The Count of Toulouse interested himself in behalf of his unhappy subjects, and tried to prevent their extermination; for thus showing compassionate feelings towards heretics, he was excommunicated, and all his dominions wrested from him. No submission, no degradation, not even submitting to be beaten with rods as a public penance, and personally bearing arms against his faithful subjects, could purchase his pardon. He was forced to seek refuge in the kingdom of Arragon, and his country was

assigned to Simon de Montfort, who commanded the papal army. The war ended in the utter desolation of the country, and the massacre of almost all its inhabitants. Philip gained the sovereignty over southern Gaul, for which Simon de Montfort did him homage; and the inquisition was established at Toulouse, to prevent the profession of any doctrines condemned by the Romish church.

In the mean time the king of England had been forced to grant his subjects the great Charter of constitutional liberties, which laid the foundation of British freedom. Scarcely, however, had Magna Charta been signed, when its stipulations were wantonly broken, and the monarch's oath to its observance atrociously violated. The pope sanctioned the abominable perjury, but the barons of England set his authority at defiance. They declared their forsworn monarch deposed, and chose for their sovereign prince Louis, the eldest son of Philip. They did not in their selection of a new king violate the principles of hereditary right, for the mother of Louis was Blanche of Castile, the grand-daughter of Henry II. When he was proclaimed in London, the English nation seemed ready to submit willingly to foreign rule. Intelligence of these events was sent to pope Innocent; he redoubled his excommunications, but they were disregarded; indignation threw him into a fever, and he died while meditating new acts of violence. The timely death of John rescued the English from a foreign yoke; the greater part of the nation submitted cheerfully to his son Henry III., and Louis had the good sense to resign his new crown.

Towards the close of his life, Philip adopted a more equitable, perhaps a more timorous, line of policy than that which had distinguished the early part of his reign.

He did not take advantage of the troubles in England, Flanders, or Languedoc, to increase his dominions, and he resisted all the solicitations of Fouquet, the cardinal legate, who urged him to complete the extermination of the Albigenses. He is reported to have said to one of his confidential servants,—“ I foresee, that after my death, the clergy will force my son Louis to take an active part in the Albigenian war. He is delicate and feeble; unable to support the fatigues, he will sink under them, and die in early youth. The kingdom will then remain in the hands of women and children, and will be exposed to danger from every quarter.” The prophecy was certainly fulfilled to the letter, and we can find no grounds for suspecting that it was a story manufactured after the event.

But while Fouquet was thus urging Philip to adopt his own sanguinary principles, the monarch was attacked by a lingering disease, which baffled the powers of medicine. He died while hastening to attend a council at the capital, after having, in the course of his long reign, succeeded in rendering the French kings independent of their feudal vassals, and extending finally the dominion of France over nearly all the provinces of ancient Gaul.

It cannot be said that the character of Philip Augustus is entitled to unqualified praise: he was in many instances, and especially in his conduct towards King Richard and Prince Arthur, mean, selfish, and treacherous. The conquest of northern and southern Gaul can scarcely be ascribed to his talents or wisdom: the crimes of John deprived England of the one—the Albigenian war destroyed the independence of the other. But the sedulous care with which he provided for the administration of justice, his diligence in establishing

order and enforcing due obedience to the laws, are merits that go far to establish his claim to the title of Augustus. During his reign the university of Paris acquired great celebrity, but it cultivated no useful branches of learning. Science was still confined to the Arabians or Saracens, and religion was degraded by a number of new and cumbrous ceremonies, all of them ridiculous and some of them indecent. New monastic orders sprang up; the most remarkable of them was the order of the Dominicans, to whom the care of the Inquisition was entrusted. Yet, notwithstanding all the labours and cruelties of the inquisitors, what they called heresy was not extirpated in France. The Protestants, who at this day are to be found in Languedoc, are descended from the Albigenses, and are justly proud of the piety and constancy of their ancestors.

### WILLIAM THE SAXON.

BORN ABOUT 1130—DIED 1196.

WE have slightly departed from chronological order, for the purpose of connecting the usurpations of the papacy, projected and partly executed by Hildebrand, with the full development of the papal system in the tyranny of Innocent and the Albigensian war. The ordinary English histories detail the leading events of the Norman conquest, but contain no particulars of the condition of the Saxon population under the rule of their invaders; we shall, therefore, for a brief space, leave kings and emperors, to trace the fortunes of an humble citizen of London. It has been already stated that the Norman invasion was sanctioned and encouraged by the Roman pontiffs, who found that the Saxons were indisposed to submit to the increasing pretensions

of papal supremacy. The cause of their reluctance was that they possessed the Scriptures;\* Alfred, their celebrated king, having translated the gospels for the use of his subjects. As, in the Albigensian war, the pope gave the invaders not merely the right of dominion, but the absolute property of the soil; the defeated Saxons were driven from their houses and estates, which were bestowed by the conqueror with a lavish hand on his hungry followers. From the time that the conquest began to flourish, not only young adventurers and warlike chiefs, but whole families, men, women, and children, emigrated from Gaul, to seek their fortunes in the country of the English. Some curious particulars of the adventurers are preserved in the old English or Saxon legends, for the rage of the vanquished vented itself in songs and ballads, which escaped punishment, because English was long to the Norman conquerors an unknown tongue. In one of these ballads we find the following whimsical enumeration of a company of adventurers.

“ William de Coningsby  
Came out of Brittany,  
With his wife Tiffany,  
And his maid Manfas,  
And his dog Ilardigras.”

But in the municipalities, the tradesmen and merchants preserved some show of freedom, and a sovereign so politic as Henry II. soon discovered how necessary to his revenues was the due protection of commerce. Though the governor of London had the Norman designation of Maire, or Mayor, the municipal officers still

\* To this circumstance we attribute the early popularity of the cause of the Reformation in England. Wickliffe, the first great English Reformer, was of Saxon lineage.

kept the Saxon title of Aldermen;\* a circumstance which seems to prove that the civic institutions of the Saxons were not wholly abolished. They assembled in their council-room or husting,† and deliberated on the mode in which the taxes demanded by the king should be levied. The favoured Normans at first were exempted from taillage in the cities and towns, but when this privilege was withdrawn, they contrived to impose the chief burthen of taxation on the native English, by their superior influence in the municipal councils.

During the troubled reign of Richard, the appeals to the purses of the citizens were frequent and heavy; and consequently the unequal pressure of taxation was severely felt. An advocate for the cause of the poor, however, appeared in the person of a London Alderman named William, who boasted of his Saxon descent at a time when others were disposed to regard it as a degradation. Like his ancestors, he had bound himself by a vow to wear his beard long, as a token of his remembrance of the Saxon times, and a sort of protest against the power of the invaders. From this circumstance he was commonly called "the man with the beard," but by his compatriots he was fondly termed William the Saxon. Naturally eloquent, he devoted himself to the study of the Norman laws, and soon became distinguished as a powerful pleader and advocate. He employed not only his talents but his fortune in defending the poor against the unjust suits and vexations of the Norman citizens; the severest of which was the unequal division of taxes. In the year 1196, the municipal council, as usual in levying a taillage, arranged that the heaviest part of the burden should fall upon

\* More properly Ealder-menn, from Eald, *old*.

† Hus, *house*, ting, *business*.—*Wächter's Glossary*.

the poor. William boldly arraigned the injustice of such a proceeding, and was answered by his colleagues with a charge of treason. "I am no traitor," he boldly replied, "but they are traitors who attempt to defraud the royal exchequer by exempting themselves from paying what they legally owe, and I will myself denounce them to the king."

He acted on the declaration, crossed the sea, and presented himself in Richard's camp. Kneeling before the monarch, he supplicated of him peace and protection for his people. Richard complacently heard his remonstrance, promised that he would redress the grievances, and soon forgot the entire matter. His war in France appeared to him a matter infinitely more important than the details of a quarrel among the citizens of London.

But the Normans in England did not regard William's proceeding as a matter of trifling importance. They were enraged that one of Saxon birth should dare to seek an audience of the monarch, and make a complaint against the Norman ascendancy. They found a zealous supporter in Hubert Gualtier, who was at once Archbishop of Canterbury and Chief Justice of England: he issued a proclamation forbidding any commoner of London to quit the city without permission, under the penalty of being imprisoned as a traitor. Some tradesmen who violated the injunction, by attending the fair of Stamford, were actually arrested, and thrown into prison. A great ferment was occasioned by this act of violence, and the Saxon citizens of London formed an association for their mutual defence, into which we are told more than fifty thousand persons entered. Such arms were procured as the habits of the age enabled the lower order of townsmen to procure, staves shod with iron, hatchets, and iron crows to attack the castles which



the Normans had erected in the cities as well as in the country.

The danger of attempting to remedy misgovernment by a popular insurrection has often been shown; it is a means in which success is always doubtful, perhaps scarcely possible. If the insurgents succeed, anarchy and all the horrors included in the expressive phrase, "the tyranny of the mob," compel men to regret the despotism that has been overthrown: if the revolt fails, the cruelties of tyranny are aggravated. The talents that raise a man to the favour of the multitude, that procure him tumultuous applause, and drag crowds in his train, are precisely those which are most likely to unfit him for the direction of a great enterprize, or the consolidation of a fixed plan. We rate as of little value the powers of declamation displayed by the demagogues of ancient or modern times, for history and experience alike teach us that the applause of the mob is more readily given to him who panders to the passions, and flatters the prejudices, of the multitude, than to those who honestly labour for their instruction and benefit. While, therefore, we bestow a due meed of praise on the sympathy which William showed for the sufferings of his poorer brethren; and while we strenuously condemn the Norman peers and prelates whose tyranny was infamous and excessive, we must at the same time lament that William became a Reformer, without possessing talents sufficient for the task, and without waiting for an opportunity of trying his experiment with advantage.

A fragment of one of his harangues to the multitude has been preserved by a contemporary historian, who assures us that he took it down from the mouth of a person who was present at its delivery. It will be seen

that, like a modern sermon, it commences with a text of Scripture, a circumstance that confirms our former statement of the attachment of the Saxons to the Bible, and of the consequent suspicion and hostility with which they were viewed by the Romish church.

His text, as it is rather inaccurately reported by the chronicler, was, "You shall draw water with joy from the fountain of the Saviour." William, whom the intoxicating applause of the populace had driven into a fanaticism perhaps not far removed from insanity, applied these words to himself, and said, "I am the saviour of the poor; O ye poor, who have felt the heavy hands of the rich, draw now from my fountain the waters of salutary doctrine, and do so with joy, for the time of your visitation is at hand. I will divide the waters from the waters; that is, the men from the men. I will separate the humble and faithful from the proud and perfidious; I will divide the elect from the reprobate, as the light from the darkness." This obscure and mystic style excited the imaginations of an ignorant auditory, but William wanted promptitude and energy to take advantage of the popular enthusiasm. He allowed himself to be anticipated by the Norman functionaries, who assembled in Parliament at London, and summoned him to answer for his conduct. William came accompanied by a crowd of his admirers, and his judges prudently adjourned the trial. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the other judges then convoked several meetings of the citizens, and addressed them on the necessity of preserving the public peace, and on the king's determination to punish the seditious very severely. The more prudent portion of William's partisans became alarmed, and the example of their desertion greatly diminished the number of his followers.

In this moment of hesitation, the archbishop claimed, in his capacity of Chief Justice and Regent, the children of many families both in the middle and lower ranks of the citizens, as hostages for the preservation of tranquillity. The citizens were taken by surprise; they yielded to the demand, and from that moment the cause of power may be regarded as triumphant.

Though by imprisoning the hostages in distant fortresses, the Lords Justices had rendered the citizens powerless, they did not yet dare to arrest William publicly. But they ordered two of their emissaries to watch him, with a company of armed men within their call, and seize him on a favourable opportunity. As William was walking, accompanied by only nine friends, he was accosted by the Norman spy, who, after a brief conversation, seized him by the throat, and gave the signal to the soldiers. Before they could come up, the Saxon laid the Norman dead at his feet, and fled with his friends for refuge to the church of St. Mary le Bow. The archbishop, on receipt of this intelligence, collected a large body of troops, and soon forced the gates of the church. The ten Saxons fled to one of the towers, but the archbishop, collecting straw and other combustibles in the lower story, set them in flames, and soon forced the Saxons to surrender. William was severely wounded by the son of the Norman whom he had slain, and was in this state tied to the tail of a horse, and dragged through the streets of London to the Tower, where the Lords Justices were sitting. Without going through the formalities of a trial, they ordered the captives to be instantly executed; and their Norman attendants speedily executed the barbarous mandate. "Thus," says Matthew Paris, "perished William Long-beard for embracing the cause of the poor, and the defence of

truth. If the cause makes a martyr, he truly deserves to be esteemed a martyr."

The Saxon population not only regarded William as a martyr, but asserted that miracles were performed at his tomb, whither they congregated in crowds. The right reverend Chief Justice considered that honours paid to William's memory were tacit reproaches to himself, and made his soldiers disperse the multitude at the point of the lance. But the Saxons, driven off by day, returned at night as votaries and pilgrims. Some of them were seized, and publicly whipped, but persecution only strengthened the delusion. At length the place was enclosed, a permanent guard established, and all access to it forbidden; this was the only measure that had power to check the popular enthusiasm, which gradually abated, and was at length forgotten.

### JENGHIZ\* KHĀN.

BORN A. D. 1163†—DIED A. D. 1227.

THE rise, the extent, and the rapid progress, of the Mongolian or Mogul empire, is one of the most extraordinary phenomena recorded in history. It was thought that no human power could ever surpass the conquests of the Arabs, who in less than seventy years extended their sway over wider territories than the Romans had acquired in five centuries; but the Moguls, from as humble an origin, obtained greater dominion in a less time. Jenghiz Khan, in a single reign, issuing from a petty principality, acquired an empire stretching about six thousand miles from east to west, and more

\* The name is also spelled Chengis, and Tchingsis, the latter of which most nearly approximates to the original.

† Mirkhond places the date ten years earlier.

than three thousand from north to south, and including within these limits the most powerful and the most wealthy kingdoms of Asia. Hence he has been styled by eastern writers the conqueror of the world, the king of kings, the sovereign to whom God had delegated the greatest authority.

From those vast and varied countries, loosely called Scythia by the ancients, and Tartary by the moderns, have issued the warlike tribes that have plundered and subdued the fairest portions of the earth. They have triumphed over the fertile plains of China, the rich provinces of India, the lovely valleys of western Asia, and the rugged wastes of northern Europe. Wild as the desert that gave them birth, untameable as the storms that issue from their own mountains, they resembled rather the commissioned agents of destruction than invaders whose success was owing to simply human means. The causes of their victories may be found in their habits and in their education; with them every man is a soldier, and every woman a heroine; the very children, at an age when, in Europe, they could scarcely crawl, are taught to ride and manage the most unruly horses; their boyish sports are mimic combats, their first lessons martial instruction. Divided into numerous tribes, they are almost incessantly engaged in mutual wars, unless when some great leader arises, whose renown spreads through the nation, and then all the tribes hasten to range themselves beneath his standard. When they invade a country, they have no option between victory and death, for other hordes, from more remote districts, press forward to occupy the pastures they have quitted, and thus cut off the possibility of retreat; but they at the same time form a body of reserve, ready and willing to supply the losses of war. The armies of a

regular state contend against such hordes at immense disadvantage; a defeat is ruinous, a victory useless, for the invaders have neither wealth nor country to lose, and are not conquered unless they are exterminated.

Pisukay Behadr, the chief of a Mongolian horde, having defeated Temujin Khān, the head of a rival tribe, named his eldest son after the vanquished prince in commemoration of his victory. Pisukay died when his son was only thirteen years old, and many of his subjects immediately deserted their youthful chief or khān. His valour, however, even at this early age, compensated for his limited power, and ere he attained his twentieth year, he was invited to the court of Vang Khān,\* the nominal head of all the Tartar tribes, and received his daughter in marriage. This excited the jealousy of some neighbouring tribes; they secretly formed an alliance against Vang and Temujin; and to confirm their union took a solemn oath, usual with the Moguls on such occasions. All the Khāns and chiefs, or their deputies, hewed in pieces with their swords a horse, a wild ox, and a dog, and then pledged themselves by the following execration: "Hear, O God, O heaven, O earth! the oath we swear against Vang Khān and Temujin; if any one of us spares them when an opportunity offers, or fails to keep the promise which he has made for their destruction, may he become as these beasts!"

The confederates unexpectedly attacked Vang Khān, who was completely defeated, and forced to take refuge with his son-in-law. Temujin soon collected his forces,

\* Vang Khān is the sovereign so celebrated in the middle ages under the name of Prester John. He was perhaps converted by some Nestorian ministers, and baptized by the name John. Prester is clearly a corruption of the Greek presbyter.

and being joined by several of the loyal tribes, he marched against the rebels, and twice routed them with great slaughter. According to the horrible customs of the east, the principal revolvers were cruelly put to death. They were bound together in pairs, and thrown into cauldrons of boiling water. Vang Khān was restored to the throne, but he felt more envy than gratitude at witnessing the prowess and promptitude of Temujin.

Vang Khān, soon after his restoration, made a base attempt to seize his benefactor in his camp, but the treachery was discovered, and Temujin inflicted a severe defeat on the troops sent against him ; and declared war against his ungrateful sovereign. All Tartary was thrown into confusion by this war ; but finally the fortune of Temujin prevailed ; Vang Khān was defeated and slain, his allies subdued one after another, and Temujin thus virtually became the chief of the Tartar nation. It was necessary, however, that he should be formally elected Khakan or emperor in the Koroultai, as the general assembly of the Tartar tribes was called, and for this purpose a national convention was proclaimed. It met at the place of Temujin's birth, and after some formalities, he was taken by seven Khāns, and borne to the nummud, or piece of black felt, used instead of a throne, while all the assembly hailed him as Khakan, and paid him homage by bowing the knee nine times before him. There was in the assembly a pretended prophet, named Kokza, whose voluntary austerities had given him great influence with the Tartar tribes ; he had even persuaded them that a white horse frequently carried him up to heaven. Temujin had married the impostor's daughter, and had thus secured his powerful influence over the simple minds of the

Tartars. When the ceremony of the installation had been concluded, Kokza stepped forward, and addressing the new sovereign, declared that he had been directed by God to command Temujin to take for the future the title of Jenghiz\*Khān, (that is, the Greatest or Supreme Khān,) and that his descendants should be Khāns through all future generations. From thenceforth Temujin adopted the name given him by Kokza.

The authority of the new sovereign was soon acknowledged throughout the whole extent of Tartary, but being determined to extend his sway over the fertile countries that bordered on his dominions, he zealously laboured to establish military discipline among the wild hordes that formed his vast army. \*The forces of Jenghiz exceeded six hundred thousand men; they were formed into divisions called tomauns, containing each ten thousand men: over every tomaun a general was placed, who was responsible to the Khakan for the conduct of his division, and to whom all the inferior officers were answerable for the behaviour of their sections. When they were not engaged in the field, Jenghiz employed his soldiers in hunting; the vast plains of Tartary affording every facility for this "mimicry of noble war." An army thus engaged in the winter was ready in the following spring for the most arduous enterprises. The provinces of northern China, called by Mohammedan writers Khatai, and by the old English authors Cathay, first excited the ambition of Jenghiz; he invaded them at the head of a powerful army, and bore down all opposition. The expedition lasted five years, in the course of which Jenghiz completely subdued Cathay, and placed it under the government of a fa-

\* *Jin*, "great." *Ghiz*, the Tartar termination for the superlative degree. *Abulghazi*.



avourite general, to whom he gave the title of king. These successes were but slowly made known in western Asia, but when the intelligence was diffused, it filled with alarm the monarchs whose dominions bordered on Tartary. Mohammed, the Shāh or sovereign of Kharasm, was the first who showed any sense of his danger; he entered into an alliance with Jenghiz, but soon afterwards provoked his just resentment by murdering the Mongolian ambassadors and merchants.

This outrage occasioned the march of Jenghiz into western Asia; but before we relate its results, we must describe the state of the eastern world at this remarkable juncture. The sway of the Mongolians extended over northern China, eastern and western Tartary, and part of Turkestan. Mohammed held possession of Kharasm, Bukharia, Khorassan, and the eastern provinces of Persia, as far as the confines of India. The Khalif Nasser reigned in Bagdad over western Persia, Chaldea, the three Arabias, and part of Mesopotamia. The descendants of Nouredin and Saladin possessed Syria and the remainder of Mesopotamia. Asia Minor was subjected to the Seljukian Sultanies of Roum and Iconium. Constantinople was in the possession of the Franks.

The Sultan of Kharasm met the invaders on the very threshold of his dominions, and though his forces were inferior, boldly resolved to give them battle. The engagement was long and bravely contested; at length Jenghiz ordered up his reserve to attack the enemy in flank, and the Kharasmians were forced to retreat. They were not, however, broken, but retired in good order, though with great loss, to their fortified camp. Mohammed was quite dispirited by this defeat; instead of venturing a second battle, he distributed his army into

the several fortresses of his dominions, and sought refuge first at Bokhāra, and then at Samarcand.\* Having subdued several places of inferior note, as much by the terror of his name as by arms, Jenghiz advanced to besiege Bokhāra, then the literary capital of Asia. Among the celebrated men educated at the university of Bokhāra, we may mention Ebn Sina, more commonly called Avicenna, to whose labours the medical profession is so deeply indebted. The generals, to whom Mohammed entrusted the defence of this important city, proved unfaithful to their trust; having been defeated in a sally, they withdrew by night from the town, accompanied by the greater part of the garrison. Intelligence of their evasion was conveyed to the Moguls, who pursued the fugitives, and having overtaken them before they could pass the river Jihon or Amoo, (the ancient Oxus,) cut the greater part of them to pieces. The city was of course surrendered, and is said to have been very cruelly treated by the conquerors. We cannot, however, give implicit credit to the anecdotes which Mohammedan writers relate of the cruelty and tyranny of Jenghiz, because they felt naturally inclined to exaggerate the crimes of the great enemy of their faith. He may have polluted the mosques and torn the Koran, but we cannot believe that he designedly selected the most learned men to perform the lowest and most menial offices. "The Moguls," says a Persian writer,† "made stables of the libraries. All the books in them were destroyed; and by an unexampled profanation, the leaves of the holy Koran were used as litter for the horses, who trampled on the sacred sentences of Mohammed." It is further said that the city was totally

\* In modern maps Sumerkund.

† Quoted in Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia.

destroyed by the Khan, but that subsequently, repenting of his cruelty, he ordered it to be rebuilt.

The victorious Moguls soon after made themselves masters of several cities in Turkestan and the Great Bukhāria, after which they advanced to the siege of Samarcand. This city, the Maracandus of the ancients, which had attained a high degree of celebrity even in the days of Alexander the Great, was betrayed to Jenghiz by the inhabitants, though the garrison had prepared to make a brave defence. The soldiers were put to the sword, and the city partially plundered; and the citizens only obtained as a reward for their treachery permission to dwell in Samarcand on condition of paying an enormous tribute. In the mean time a strong detachment had gone in pursuit of Mohammed, who had fled westwards; he died almost in sight of his pursuers, and the Moguls became masters of all the provinces bordering on the Caspian. Jalāloddin, the son and successor of Mohammed, maintained the war against Jenghiz with bravery and resolution which merited success; but he was opposed by his own family, more especially by his brother and the queen-dowager, who frustrated all his plans, and rendered his most prudent measures ineffectual. City after city fell before the Moguls, province after province was added to their empire; nevertheless the young sultan disputed the progress of the invaders inch by inch, until he was at length driven to the river Indus, the extreme boundary of his dominions.

The gallant Jalāloddin, though his forces were scarcely one tenth of those whom he had to oppose, prepared to meet the foe with determined resolution. He ordered all the boats to be sent to the opposite bank of the river, except one which he reserved for his wife and

children, but that was unfortunately upset, and the sultan was forced to retain his family in the camp. Protected by a well-chosen position, the Kharasmians maintained the unequal contest for twelve hours ; but at length a detachment of the Moguls forced the rocky defiles which protected their right flank, and they were at once thrown into confusion. Jalāloddin, having taken a tender farewell of his beloved family, dashed with his charger into the river, and succeeded in gaining the opposite bank. It is even said that he checked his horse in the midst of the rapid stream, and exhausted his quiver against the Moguls. Some historians relate that the sultan slew his children to save them from slavery ; others assert that they were slain by the orders of the ruthless conqueror.

The countries on each side of the Caspian, and all the northern and eastern parts of Persia, were subdued by Jenghiz Khān and his generals after the final overthrow of the Kharasmians. Astrakan was taken by a Mongolian detachment, and some of the hordes pushed their incursions as far as the confines of Russia. A general diet of the Mongolian princes was then summoned to assemble in the plains of Tonkat, one of the steppes or table-lands in Tartary, and thither all the victorious generals flocked to give an account of their several exploits, and pay their homage to their sovereign. Jenghiz proceeded back to his native land, through the conquered provinces of the Kharasmians, with all the pomp and pageantry of a triumphal procession. But the hearts of the spectators were filled with grief when they saw the sultana of Jalāloddin, whose virtues in the hour of her prosperity had gained her universal respect and affection, led in chains by her barbarous conqueror, as a trophy of his victory over her husband. The mag-

nificence of the diet at Tonkat is described in glowing terms by oriental writers; the spoils of southern Asia, gold, jewels, rich silks, and brocade robes, gave a splendour to the assembly that must have furnished to the memory a curious contrast with the diet in which Jenghiz was elected sovereign. The monarch himself seemed anxious to impress the contrast on the minds of his subjects, for over his glittering throne was spread the identical piece of black felt which had been used at his election.

After the assembly was dissolved, Jenghiz proceeded to extend his conquests eastwards, and obtained his usual success. But in the midst of his triumphs, he received intelligence of the death of his favourite son; and grief for his loss, added to a disease which he had contracted from encamping in a marshy ground, brought on mortal sickness. Finding death approach, he summoned his sons and grandsons into his presence, and told them that as he was now about to leave them, he wished for the last time to give them his advice. He then affectionately recommended them to live in unity, and not to destroy the mighty empire he had founded by jealousy and ambition. His children fell upon their knees, and exclaimed with one accord, "You are our father and our emperor, we are your slaves; it is our duty to bow with submission, and to execute your commands."

The princes then rose from the ground, and Jenghiz nominated prince Oktay his successor. Upon this, they all bowed the knee a second time, and promised implicit obedience. Soon after the great Khān expired; his sons concealed his death until the city they were besieging had surrendered; they then celebrated his funeral with great magnificence, and raised a noble sepulchre over his grave.

The preceding narrative contains sufficient proof of the Khān's military talents; a few extracts from his laws will afford the best means of estimating his character as a legislator.

LAWS ESTABLISHED BY JENGHIZ KHAN AT A GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE MONGOLIAN PRINCES, A. D. 1205.

1. Men must believe that there is only one God, the creator of heaven and earth, the author of life and death, the giver of riches and poverty, who grants and denies according to his own good pleasure, and has absolute authority over the universe.

2. The heads of sects, the priests of every denomination, the criers of the temples, those who wash the dead, and those who profess the healing art, are exempted from public offices.

3. No one, under pain of death, shall cause himself to be proclaimed Khākan, unless duly elected by the Khāns and Mogul princes in a general assembly lawfully convened.

4. The heads of tribes shall not use titles of honour.

5. No one in the Mogul dominions shall live in idleness; those who do not serve in war must be employed in public works.

6. No Mogul shall be kept in slavery; the captives taken in war shall be carefully preserved for service.

7. The governors of provinces shall answer with their heads for the due administration of justice.

8. To increase the ties of friendship between families, it shall be lawful for those whose children are dead, to form contracts of marriage between the deceased, and such contracts shall be as obligatory for the union of the families as if the contracted parties were actually living.

## LOUIS IX. OF FRANCE, COMMONLY CALLED SAINT LOUIS.

BORN A. D. 1215—DIED A. D. 1270.

LOUIS IX. was only twelve years of age at the time of his father's death; his mother, Blanche of Castile, a woman of high spirit and great abilities, undertook the regency of the kingdom, and the education of the sovereign, and to better hands could neither have been entrusted. Unfortunately she considered herself bound to prosecute the exterminating war against the Albigenses, though in other respects she showed a firm opposition to the extravagant claims of the Romish church. Though she had not herself received a literary education, which, in her age, was but rarely accorded to men, she had the good sense to discover its advantages, and to procure the most learned men of France to preside over the instruction of her children. Above all, she was anxious that her sons should be religiously educated; it was her misfortune perhaps more than her fault, that the religion of the teachers she selected was polluted by bigotry and intolerance. The best proof of the fidelity with which she performed the duties of a mother was the ardent attachment of all her children; even after they had reached mature age, they consulted her in every matter of importance, and never remitted their respect and obedience. The proud nobles of France were unwilling to obey a woman and a foreigner: they plotted, they combined, they revolted, but the consummate abilities of the Queen-Regent disconcerted their schemes, and forced them to a reluctant submission. The systematic destruction of the Albigenses, devised by Fouquet, the sanguinary bishop of Toulouse,

had at length broken down the strength of that brave but unhappy people; they were forced to submit to their barbarous conquerors; Languedoc was formally annexed to France, and the establishment of the inquisition solemnly recognised. But though Blanche allowed the papal ministers to persecute and torture those whom she regarded as heretics, she was by no means willing to allow the pretensions of the clergy to interfere with royal power. The very first public enterprise in which Louis under her directions engaged, was an attack on the episcopal city of Beauvais, for refusing to receive a chief magistrate nominated by the regent. Louis very cruelly punished the burghers, and inflicted a severe fine on the bishop, though the resistance of both was fully justified by royal charters. No one advocated the cause of the citizens, but the pope demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to the bishop, and it required three years of negociation before matters were finally arranged.

When Louis came of age, he displayed his gratitude to his mother by continuing to her a share in the administration; he then applied himself diligently to reform the abuses of the state, and especially to remedy the evils occasioned by the gross licentiousness of the clergy. In these efforts he was but partially successful, for he had been too strictly educated in the principles of devotion to the Holy See, to take the only step which would have remedied all disorders, that is, to subject the church to the control of the state. Though Philip Augustus had broken the power of the great vassals of the crown, there were still many who possessed a formidable share of authority, and who were eager to shake off the yoke of royal control. Hugh, count of Marche, was the most impatient of submission, and at



length, on some trifling pretence, he raised the standard of revolt. The English monarch, Henry III. aided the insurgents, but their forces were conquered in every battle, and the Count of Marche was forced to purchase pardon by resigning the greater portion of his territories to the king. Pope Innocent IV. being driven out of Italy, was desirous of putting himself under the protection of the King of France, but Louis, foreseeing that he would thus be involved in the quarrel between the pope and the emperor, rejected the proffered honour; he, however, permitted Innocent to hold a council at Frankfort, in which the emperor Frederick was excommunicated.

Soon after this, the king fell dangerously ill, and during his sickness made a vow that on his recovery he would lead another crusade for the liberation of Palestine from the Mohammedans. The wisest and ablest of his ministers, and the queen-dowager Blanche, vainly attempted to dissuade the monarch from this rash enterprise; they could only prevail upon him to delay until he had made the preparations most likely to ensure success. He obtained from the pope permission to levy a tax of one-tenth on all ecclesiastical property, but he would not permit Innocent to enforce a similar demand for himself, and the French clergy readily paid the crusade-tax, to reward the king for having saved them from papal exactions. His most turbulent vassals, the counts of Marche and Brittany, took the cross, and thus relieved him from the anxiety which he must have felt had they been at liberty to contrive insurrections during his absence. There would have been some danger on the side of England, had the British monarch, Henry III. possessed steadiness of character, but he was weak and vacillating; though he sent his brother to demand

the restitution of Normandy, he did not resent a refusal, and he finally renewed the former truce between the kingdoms.

Three years were spent in preparations for the crusade; and though we must condemn the rashness of the project, we cannot withhold our praise from the wisdom shown in the adoption of the means most likely to ensure its success. The armament was one of the best appointed that ever left the shores of Europe; the soldiers were well disciplined, and full of hope and enthusiasm. Louis, after having received the benediction of the pope, sailed from France on the 23d of August 1248, and landed his forces in the island of Cyprus on the 25th of the following September. There it had been resolved that the army should winter, and large stores of provision were collected for the purpose; but notwithstanding, the French would have been reduced to great distress had they not been assisted by the emperor and the Venetians.

During this delay the king received ambassadors from the king of Armenia, and from the Khan of the Tartars, promising that they would find employment for the Sultans of Iconium and Bagdad, while he assailed the Mohammedan princes of Syria and Egypt. Armenia was at this period governed by the Reubenian dynasty, a race of sovereigns that made more heroic exertions to secure the independence of their country, than any of the Christian monarchs of the east. The pope was anxious to unite the Armenian to the Romish church, but found that the prejudices of the eastern Christians, against what they considered the novelties of the west, were insuperable. Ambassadors were sent to the Tartar chiefs, and from the journal of one of them, William de Rubruquis, Europeans first derived any accurate infor-

mation respecting the nations of central Asia. It was the middle of May before the French were ready to prosecute their expedition; they steered their course towards Egypt, justly believing that the conquest of that country was necessary to secure the power of the Christians in Palestine. The armament amounted to more than eighteen hundred ships of every size; the fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, and when they reached the Egyptian shore, Louis could only muster one third of his forces. This, however, proved of no evil consequence: though the Mohammedans had twenty thousand men in battle array to oppose the landing of the Franks, they fled after a single discharge of arrows, and even abandoned the strong and wealthy city of Damietta without resistance.

The hopes raised by this first success were doomed to be disappointed; indeed the very magnitude of the victory was the chief cause of subsequent calamities. The volunteers that had joined the ranks of the crusaders were displeased with the king for providently securing the magazines and stores of Damietta; they insisted that the city should be given to them for plunder, and when this was refused, they laid aside all discipline and obedience. It was impossible to follow up this triumph, in consequence of the periodical inundation of the Nile; while the crusaders were waiting at Damietta for the subsiding of the waters, they spent their time in feasts, in shows, and debauchery, instead of preparing for the next campaign. In the mean time, the ruler of Egypt sent propositions of peace; he offered to abandon Jerusalem on condition that Damietta should be restored and Egypt evacuated. But the enthusiastic crusaders rejected the proposal, and marched against the infidels

as to certain victory. Malek\* Saleh Najmoddin was besieging the city of Emessa when he heard the news of the fall of Damietta; he returned hastily to Egypt, but died of a tumour in the thigh before he could meet the Franks in the field, but not before he had punished the cowards who had lost Damietta. He was succeeded by his third son, Malek Saleh Moadam Turan Shah, whose valour showed him worthy of being descended from the celebrated Malek Adhel. The Christians advanced from Damietta before the new sultan had arrived to head his army. But the troops collected by his father were strongly posted behind the canal of Ashmoun and in the city of Mansurah. They were commanded by the emir, Fakir-eddin, who was eager to retrieve the character he had lost at Damietta. The Franks advanced to Ashmoun, and their fleet attended them up the Nile, but their progress was opposed by the canal, over which they could not discover a passage. During this delay the Franks suffered very severely from the harassing attacks of the Arabs of the desert, who hovered round their camp, and cut off all stragglers. Light troops of the Egyptians also frequently swam across the canal, and attacked the outposts by surprise; and every artifice which oriental ingenuity could suggest was employed to surprise the unwary Christians. "I have been told," says Gémal-eddin, a contemporary Arabian writer, "that one of our soldiers scooped out a large melon, in which he concealed his head, so that whilst he was swimming, a Christian, coming to catch the fruit, was surprised and made prisoner."—"The day after an attack on the camp of the Christians," continues the same writer, "I saw sixty-seven prisoners brought into Cairo, among whom were three Templars." Matters

\* *Malek* signifies "king."

continued thus until the 8th of the following February, when an Arab, induced by a large bribe, showed a ford, by which the Christians passed over, under the command of the Count d'Artois, brother of the king of France. This movement was so sudden that the Egyptians knew nothing of it until their camp was attacked. The Mohammedans were surprised in their tents; their commander, Fakir-eddin, was enjoying the luxury of the bath. Hearing the cries, he rushed out, and mounted his horse, but the camp was already forced. He threw himself into the midst of the enemies, and fell fighting bravely. We read an anecdote in Makrizi, that shows us how demoralized was the condition of Egypt at this period. "No sooner," he says, "was the news of Fakir-eddin's death spread abroad, than the Mamelukes and a portion of the emirs hastened to pillage his palace, his coffers were broken open, his money, his furniture, and his horses taken away, and his house finally burned to the ground."

Instead of fortifying himself on the opposite bank of the canal, and thus securing a passage for the Christian army, the Count d'Artois, contrary to orders, advanced to the attack of Mansurah. In the beginning, it seemed as if success would have crowned his rash enterprize. Such was the terror of the Mohammedans, that both citizens and soldiers ran to and fro in confusion; the Franks, believing the victory won, began to plunder. Suddenly a body of Turkish Mamelukes, amongst which Bibars, the future sultan, was peculiarly distinguished, fell upon the disordered Christian cavaliers, and threw them into fatal confusion. Assailed by stones from the roofs of the houses, entangled in the streets, and encumbered by plunder, it was impossible to form again in line; they were mowed down by the cimetars, or dashed to earth

by the maces of the Turks. So sudden was the reverse, that the French infantry, which had succeeded in throwing a bridge over the canal, could not reach the scene of combat in time. Had the cavalry been able to make a longer resistance, or had there been an opportunity for bringing up all the Christian forces, the fate of Egypt would have been decided; but all that Louis could effect was to extricate from the town a miserable remnant of his brilliant chivalry, and to secure them in an intrenched camp on a neighbouring hill.

“When the action commenced,” says Gémal-eddin, “a pigeon brought the news to Cairo. It was then evening. The billet brought by the bird was addressed to the emir Hossam-eddin, who gave it to me to read; it contained these words: “At this moment our enemies rush upon Mansurah; they are actually engaged.” These words filled us all with terror, the cause of Islamism was generally regarded as lost. Towards the close of the day, fugitives began to arrive from the camp; the gate called that of Victory remained open all night to give them refuge. Finally, the next morning, at sun-rise, we received the happy news of the victory of the Mussulmans. Immediately Cairo and the old town were covered with tapestry; the streets re-echoed with shouts of joy, our hearts were filled with gladness, and we no longer despaired of the issue of the war.”

Nineteen days after the battle, Túrán Shah arrived at Cairo, and was received with the utmost joy by his subjects. He immediately besieged the French in their fortified camp, and cut off their communications with Damietta. Famine and its attendant disease soon appeared in the Christian army, but they still lingered in their position near Mansurah, hoping that some favourable circumstance might restore their former superiority.

At length they were forced to retreat, but they were so precipitate in their flight, that they did not break down the bridge over the canal of Ashmoun. The Egyptians closely pursued their enemies, who did not even attempt resistance; after a fearful slaughter, the king, his brother, and the poor remains of his army surrendered themselves prisoners. The news of this unexpected catastrophe filled the garrison of Damietta with consternation. The queen of France, who had accompanied her husband, was suffering the pains of child-birth at Damietta when she received intelligence of her husband's capture. Her only attendant was an aged knight, from whom she exacted an oath that he would put her to death sooner than allow her to fall into the hands of the infidels. She was delivered of a son, whom, in allusion to the sorrowful circumstances of his birth, she named Tristan.

The salt tears mingling with the milk he drew,  
Gave the sad presage of his future years;  
The child of misery, baptized with tears.\*

Túran Sháh treated his captives with great kindness, a circumstance which gave great offence to his fanatical followers. He sent an ornamented cradle and other rich presents to the queen; and agreed to liberate his prisoners on condition that Damietta should be restored and a reasonable ransom paid. But the sultan during his short reign had displeased the emirs and chiefs of the Mamelukes; they suspected, not without reason, that he was inclined to check their excessive power, and

\* Born in one unfortunate crusade, he died in another; he fell a victim in the bloom of youth to the pestilence which destroyed so many of the French soldiers at the siege of Tunis.

they, therefore, conspired for his destruction. A tumultuous insurrection burst forth, in which Túran Sháh was murdered; his father's widow, who had been chief in the plot, was invested with sovereign authority; the emir Aybek was appointed commander-in-chief, and the negotiation with Louis was entrusted to Hossam-eddin. When tranquillity was restored, the treaty between Louis and his conquerors proceeded as if it had been never interrupted. A few fanatics indeed proposed a general massacre of the Christians, but the avarice of the Mamelukes was stimulated by the hope of the promised ransom, and finally the terms proposed by Túran Sháh were ratified. When the ransom was paid, Louis with his queen, his two brothers, and about six thousand men, not more than the sixth part of the army he had brought to Egypt, embarked on board some Genoese galleys, and sailed to the Syrian port of Acre.

Gémal-eddin declares that the emir Hossam related to him the following conversation, which he had with Louis while arranging the terms of his ransom. The emir, who had regarded the crusade as an enterprize little short of insanity, was surprised to find his royal prisoner possessed of much intelligence and good sense. "How could it enter the head," inquired the emir, "of a monarch so clear-sighted and sensible as you, to trust yourself to the sea in a frail bark, to wage war in a Mussulman country defended by numerous armies, and to expose yourself and your soldiers to almost certain ruin?" At these words the king smiled, and made no answer. "One of our doctors of the law," pursued the emir, "is of opinion that the person who exposes his person and property twice to the sea, should be regarded as an idiot, and that his evidence should not be



received in a court of justice."\* The king smiled again, and said, "The doctor who said so was in the right; his opinion was just—" "But," said the emir, "the contrary opinion has prevailed, and we receive in our courts the evidence even of those who make navigation their profession, since the greater part of them return home safe and sound."

Louis delayed for some time in Acre, and devoted his attention to remedying the abuses which prevailed in the little kingdom of Palestine. He took advantage of the civil commotions that prevailed in Egypt to obtain remission of part of his ransom, and to procure the burial of the mangled limbs of his soldiers, which had been exposed in barbarous triumph on the walls of Damietta. But while he was thus exerting himself to strengthen a foreign kingdom, the affairs of his own had fallen into great confusion. Grief for her son's imprisonment, and remorse for having ordered the execution of the first two persons who spread the news of the calamity, brought down the gray hairs of the queen-regent with sorrow to the grave. Those on whom the government devolved, sent the most pressing remonstrances to Louis, declaring that longer delay would be the ruin of his dominions.

On the 24th of April 1254, Louis embarked at Acre, bearing with him some sacred relics which he purchased from the emperor of Constantinople.† Before quitting

\* It is laid down by several Mohammedan doctors that a person is not bound to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, if it is necessary for that purpose to cross the sea.

† The following is the extraordinary list of relics which he purchased from the Emperor Baldwin. 1. Our Lord's crown of thorns. 2. Part of the true cross. 3. A cross called the cross of Triumph, because it was carried before the Christian emperors in battle. 4. Some blood of

Syria, he repaired and garrisoned the Christian fortresses at his own expense, and distributed all his treasures to the soldiers left for the defence of the Holy Land. The king was received with the warmest enthusiasm by his subjects on his return; but they saw with sorrow that he still retained the cross on his dress, a proof that his crusading spirit was not extinct, and that he meditated some other expedition against the infidels.

After his return, Louis applied himself with the utmost diligence to remedy the disorders of the state. He found that the tyranny of the nobles, the oppressions of the superior clergy, and the rapacity of the state officers had risen to an extravagant and scarcely credible height; but his resolute exertions soon produced a complete reformation, and he had the gratification of seeing security for person and property established in France. The king himself exhibited in his own conduct a thorough love of justice, by practising the difficult virtue of restitution; he ordered that all fiefs unjustly annexed to the crown should be given back to their legitimate owners; and he restored to the king of England several towns which his father had taken in Guienne. Such was the character for justice and probity which Louis acquired by these means, that he was chosen arbitrator between Henry III. of England, and

Jesus Christ. 5. The clothes in which he was wrapped in his infancy. 6. Some blood that floweth from a miraculous image when struck by an infidel. 7. The chain with which Christ was bound. 8. The holy tablecloth. 9. A piece of the holy sepulchre. 10. Some of the virgin's milk. 11. Part of the head of the lance by which Christ was pierced. 12. Part of the purple robe. 13. The reed given to Christ as a sceptre. 14.\*Part of the sponge dipped in vinegar. 15. His grave-clothes. 16. The towel with which he wiped the feet of the apostles. 17. The rod of Moses. 18. The top of the head of St. John the Baptist. 19. The skulls of St. Blaise, St. Clement, and St. Simon.

the rebellious barons headed by the Earl of Leicester. His decision was 'that the royal authority' should be restored, and the provisions of Magna Charta observed, an equitable arrangement which pleased neither party. But his respect for the pope seduced him into an action of questionable policy and evident injustice; he allowed his brother Charles of Anjou to accept the crown of Naples, and allowed a crusade to be preached in his dominions against the legitimate possessor. Charles, in consequence, became monarch of the two Sicilies, and secured his throne by the murder of his gallant competitor, the youthful Conradin.

Louis had been many years secretly preparing for a new crusade, and had obtained from Henry III. a promise of a powerful auxiliary force under the command of prince Edward. Without waiting for his allies, he set sail from the port where he had formerly embarked, but by the advice of his brother Charles, he directed his course towards the coast of Barbary. Carthage was taken without much opposition, and the French army next laid siege to Tunis. But a dreadful pestilence broke out in the camp, and the soldiers died by hundreds. At length, the king himself was attacked, and soon finding that the disease was mortal, he gave a paper of directions to his son Philip, and then having received the last rites of the church, piously resigned his soul to his Creator. In a few days the king of Sicily came to join his brother; he found Louis and his son Tristan dead, Philip stretched on a bed of sickness, and the entire army on the brink of ruin. In this distressing state of affairs, Charles took upon himself the management of the army, and made peace with the Mohammedan authorities of Tunis.

Louis IX. was a good man rather than a good mo-

narch ; his piety was sincere and unaffected ; but it was sullied by the bigotry and intolerance peculiar to his age. These qualities were not confined to his crusade against the Mohammedans ; he sanctioned the inquisition at Toulouse, and joined in persecuting the unfortunate Albigenses. So strongly attached was he to monastic institutions, that he would have exchanged the court for the cloister, but for the strenuous dissuasions of his son and brother. He was deservedly beloved by the lower ranks of his subjects, whom he shielded from the tyranny of the nobles, and protected by municipal institutions. Finally, though we cannot support his claims to the title of *saint*, we must confess that the names of many whose merits were far inferior to his are enrolled in the Romish calendar.

## EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.

BORN A. D. 1330—DIED A. D. 1376.

EDWARD, Prince of Wales, one of the most chivalrous and heroic characters recorded in genuine history, was born at Woodstock, which was anciently a favourite residence of the English sovereigns. He was instructed in all the graceful exercises of chivalry, and so great was his proficiency, that at the early age of fifteen he was summoned by his father to take a share in the invasion of France. Edward III. claimed the crown of France as the nephew, by his mother's side, of the late king, Charles the Fair, while Philip, who had assumed the crown, was only cousin-german to the deceased monarch. It was admitted on both sides, that a nephew was a nearer relative than a brother, and that by the Salic law, a female could not inherit the crown of France. Edward contended that though his mother

could not have ascended the French throne, yet, as her claim was only barred by the incident of her sex, her right would pass to her next male representative, who would possess it without any disqualification. Philip's friends contended that the exclusion of females was absolute, and consequently that Edward's mother could not transmit a right which she never possessed. The latter opinion prevailed in the great council of the French nation; Philip was proclaimed king of France, and his rival Edward at first tacitly acknowledged his authority. The imprudent treachery and tyranny of Philip, however, occasioned several of his subjects to revolt, and Edward resolved to establish his claim to the French crown.

The earl of Derby, the gallant cousin of the English monarch, was sent to attack France on the side of Guienne, and though he led but a small army, he obtained the most distinguished success. At length the duke of Normandy, the son of Philip, was sent to check the invaders with an army three times their number, and the earl of Derby was forced to act upon the defensive, and to send pressing letters to Edward for succour. The English monarch soon levied a considerable force, but instead of sailing to Guienne, he directed his course to Normandy, the ancient inheritance of his ancestors. Although that province had been so recently a fief of the English crown, its inhabitants were now thoroughly Frenchmen, and they offered a desperate resistance to the invaders. Unfortunately their efforts not being supported by a body of regular forces, served only to draw down upon them the ruthless vengeance of Edward. Having taken Caen by storm, he sanctioned an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants,

gave up the town to be plundered by his soldiers, and sent three hundred of the most wealthy citizens prisoners to England, hoping to enrich himself by their ransom. From Normandy he advanced into Picardy, and extended his devastations to the very walls of Paris, having actually plundered and burned some villages within sight of the capital. Philip having at length collected the forces of his kingdom, Edward was forced to retreat before such vastly superior powers, and directed his course towards Flanders. He was closely pursued by the French, and in imminent danger of total ruin. On reaching the banks of the Somme, he found all the bridges broken down, and the passes guarded. But a peasant, induced by a large reward, pointed out a ford, which, though defended by a strong body of French, was forced by the daring Edward. The rear-guard of the English had not completed their passage when the heads of Philip's columns came in sight, so narrowly did Edward's army escape from inevitable destruction.

The rising of the tide prevented the French from continuing the pursuit, and Edward employed the interval in preparing for a battle, which, though the most hazardous in appearance, was in reality the most prudent resolution he could have adopted. A retreat through the open plains of Picardy would have exposed his wearied soldiers to the insults of the French cavalry, and would have broken down their courage, by the appearance of flying before their enemies. He, therefore, selected favourable ground near the village of Crécy, and there with his little army of twenty-four thousand men, drawn up in three lines, resolved to await his rival, whose forces exceeded one hundred thousand. He is

said also to have taken advantage of the recent discovery of artillery, and to have strengthened his lines with these new and formidable engines of war.

The night before the battle, Philip slept at Abbeville, about nine miles from Crécy, but such was his carelessness, that he did not know that the English had halted in position near him. In the morning he resumed the pursuit, but learning that his enemies were ready for battle, he halted to hold a council of war. The deliberations were protracted during a great part of the day, and when at length the resolution to fight was taken, the march was made with so much haste, that the ranks fell into disorder, and, when, to remedy this, an order to halt was given, being only partially heard, and still more partially obeyed, it only increased the confusion. Finally, the sun and wind were both in the face of the French, and a heavy shower of rain damaged the bow-strings of the Genoese archers, on whom Philip placed his chief reliance. The English saw all these circumstances from the hill on which they were posted; their archers kept their bows in cases, which were consequently not injured by the rain. The Prince of Wales kept the first line in order, the king himself commanded the reserve, the second line was entrusted to the earls of Arundel and Northampton.

It was about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the Count of Alençon, who commanded the French army, gave the signal to commence the battle, and commanded the Genoese archers to begin "in the name of God and St. Denis." They took three leaps forward, setting up a loud shout after each, and then discharged their arrows. But the rain had spoiled the bow-strings, and their shot fell short or ineffectual, while the English returned a flight of arrows so close and well directed,

that the Genoese fell into disorder. Alençon, who headed the brilliant chivalry of France, and had three monarchs\* under his command, was filled with indignation when he saw the Genoese give way; he shouted "treason," and ordered his cavaliers to ride down the runaways, and charge the English lines. This foolish command was too well obeyed, the French cavalry got entangled among the routed Genoese, and afforded a conspicuous mark to the English archers, who poured upon them "a hail shower of shafts" that did fearful execution. When Alençon at length got free from this tangled rout, his lines were disordered, his soldiers dispirited, and their horses panting with fatigue. Before horses or men could recover their breath, they were charged by the youthful Edward and his gallant companions, whose spirit and freshness atoned for the disparity of numbers. At the same time the Earls of Northampton and Arundel brought up their second line to sustain the Prince. While the issue was doubtful, the Earl of Warwick sent a pressing message to king Edward for aid. The monarch asked whether his son was slain or wounded, and being answered in the negative, said, "Return and tell the Prince that I reserve the honour of the day to him; I am confident that he will show himself worthy of the honour of knighthood which I so recently conferred upon him; he will be able without my assistance to repel the enemy." The speech was reported to the Prince, and it stimulated him to fresh exertions; in fact the fight, though apparently unequal, was not really so, for the French lines never recovered from their disorder, and the English archers poured in a close discharge of arrows whenever they found an opportunity. "There were besides," says the

\* The kings of Bohemia and Majorca and the king of the Romans.



old historian, "some rough fellows in the English army, who, being armed only with knives, ran out of the ranks when they saw a knight, dismounted, and cut his throat." The fall of Alençon decided the fate of the day; the first and second line of the French were thrown back upon the reserve, which was instantly broken. The blind king of Bohemia, who had accompanied his friend and ally to this fatal field, hearing the rout, resolved not to survive such a disgraceful defeat. He ordered two of his knights to fasten the reins of his horse to their bridles, and gallop into the thickest of the fight, that he might strike one good stroke before his death. His orders were obeyed; he fell fighting valiantly in the first line; tradition says, by the hand of the Prince of Wales, who took the crest of the monarch he overthrew, three ostrich feathers, and the motto *ICH DIEN*, (I serve) as his future cognizance.

Philip made several efforts to rally his troops; a horse was killed under him, he mounted another, and seemed disposed to follow the example of the Bohemian monarch, but one of his attendants seized his bridle, and forced him from the field of battle. Night was beginning to close, when the whole French army fled, and was pursued with merciless slaughter. Before commencing the engagement, Philip had unfurled the *Oriflamme* as a signal that he would give no quarter, a circumstance which added to all the other advantages of the English, the courage derived from despair.

Darkness only suspended the slaughter, which was renewed on the following morning. The day happened to be foggy, of which the English took advantage to raise French standards on the eminences, and all who were allured by the treacherous signals, were shamefully butchered. A large body of recruits, ignorant of

the late battle, coming to join king Philip, fell into this snare, and shared the fate of the stragglers. In this battle the English lost only one knight, three esquires, and not a hundred of inferior quality; whilst of the French there fell twelve hundred knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen and esquires, four thousand men-at-arms, and about thirty thousand persons of inferior rank. Among the slain were the kings of Majorca and Bohemia, and many of the principal nobility of France. This great disparity of loss is to be attributed to the utter disorder of the French lines, which rendered the combat a rout rather than a battle. The French cavalry could not recover the confusion occasioned by their mad effort to ride down their own archers; every subsequent attempt they made to form in line only added to their disorganization. After the battle was over, king Edward threw himself into the arms of his son, and exclaimed, "My brave boy! persevere in your honourable career; you are truly my son, for valiantly have you acquitted yourself this day; you have indeed proved yourself worthy of empire." From henceforth Prince Edward, called, from the colour of his armour, "The Black Prince," was universally regarded as the champion of England.

The successes of the Earl of Derby, who had now become by the death of his father, Duke of Lancaster, were scarcely less in Guienne than those of his sovereign in Picardy. The English queen Philippa gained a great victory over the Scots, who had renewed the war when they learned Edward's absence; she even made their king a prisoner. Edward himself captured the important town of Calais, and gave rise to a romantic story, which we regret to say has no sound historical foundation. But these events are recorded in

every history of England, and have besides no immediate connexion with the biography of the Black Prince.

A truce was established between the contending monarchs, during which Philip, misnamed by French historians "the Fortunate," died, leaving to his son John, Duke of Normandy, the inheritance of a distracted kingdom and a disputed succession. John began his reign badly ; he put to death the Counts of Marche and Eu for having shown respect to the chivalrous character of Edward ; and he arrested treacherously Charles, king of Navarre, whose crimes indeed deserved punishment, but who should not have been made a prisoner when invited as a guest. The truce soon expired, and Edward, believing that he would now find partisans in France, resolved to send the Prince of Wales into Guienne, while he advanced into France on the side of Calais. The Black Prince entered the Garonne with a fleet of three hundred sail, on board which were the best and bravest of the English nobility ; he was joined on his landing by his vassals in Gascony, and immediately invaded Languedoc. A French army more numerous than his own prevented him from undertaking any important siege. But the constable of Bourbon, having received strict orders not to hazard an engagement, made no attempt to prevent the English from plundering and devastating the country. After an expedition of six weeks, Prince Edward returned with vast booty and many prisoners to Guienne, where he established his winter quarters.

Encouraged by the success of his late campaign, the Prince took the field at the head of an army of about twelve thousand men, and with this small body he resolved to penetrate into the very heart of France. His main object was to form a junction, with the English

army that had invaded Normandy, and with the partisans of the king of Navarre. But he found the bridges of the Loire broken down, the passes carefully guarded, and he learned that the king of France was advancing against him in person with an army of sixty thousand men. These circumstances rendered it necessary for him to retreat towards Guienne, but he lost some days besieging the castle of Remorantjn, and thus afforded the French an opportunity of overtaking him. Sensible that his retreat was now impracticable, he adopted the resolution which his father had taken in similar circumstances, and resolved to hazard a battle. But the utmost prudence and courage could not have saved him had the king of France known how to avail himself of his advantages. He might, from his vast superiority of force, have surrounded his enemies, cut off their supplies, and compelled them to surrender without a blow; but the impatient ardour of the French nobility prevented the adoption of this plan; they were madly eager to advance to what they regarded as certain victory. The cardinal of Perigord interferred as a mediator to prevent the effusion of blood; the Black Prince offered to purchase a retreat by surrendering all his conquests; but John insisted that the Prince and one hundred of his followers should yield themselves as prisoners of war. This demand was peremptorily rejected, and both armies prepared themselves for the memorable battle of Poitiers.

The English army was posted on a rising ground surrounded by vineyards and hedges; in their front was a long and narrow lane running through a thick coppice which opened about half-way up the ascent. Of these circumstances the prince availed himself; he lined the lane with archers, and at the end of it, in

front of his cavalry and men-at-arms, he posted a strong body of archers drawn up in open column. He also placed his friend the Captal de Buche in ambush with a detachment of six hundred men, to fall on the flank or rear of the French during the engagement. When the French king saw the English position, he ordered all his cavalry, except the German auxiliaries and an advanced guard of three hundred, to dismount; he then ordered a column to enter the lane. The French became entangled in the difficult ground, while the English archers poured upon them an incessant shower of arrows from the top and from both sides of the lane or defile. Notwithstanding their severe loss, they struggled through; but before they could close their broken ranks, they were charged by the English chivalry, and driven back into the lane. John ordered up his horse to cover the retreat of the column, but the detachment was thrown into confusion by a close discharge of arrows from a body of archers on their flank, and recoiled upon the Germans. The Prince of Wales charged at this critical moment, and at the same time the Captal de Buche led his troops from their ambush against the flank of the second line of the French. The persons to whom the care of the French princes was entrusted, terrified for their charge, took to flight, and their example was followed by the entire division. From that moment nothing could resist the impetuosity of the English soldiers. Bitterly did the French chevaliers lament the order that had deprived them of their horses; encumbered with heavy armour, their lines broken, and their lances useless, they were trampled down by the cavalry of the Black Prince, or swept away by the dense column of men-at-arms that, advanced under the cover of the archers.

John had still a third division of his army unbroken, commanded by himself and his youngest son Philip ; as these forces were superior in number to the entire English army, they might have changed the fate of the day ; but they were unused to fight on foot, and they were dispirited by the defeat and flight of their comrades. Besides, the light troops of the French had fled in the very onset, and thus the flanks of the column were left exposed to the deadly aim of the English archers, who never maintained their fame better than upon this eventful day. Fighting under such disadvantages, we cannot be surprised that this division was broken by the charge of victorious troops, "mad with success and drunk with gore." The individual valour of John and his immediate attendants still maintained an unequal fight when success was utterly hopeless. Several English and Gascon knights, who recognised the royal person, exhorted the king to surrender, but he refused to yield to any but his cousin, the Prince of Wales. At length, being informed that the prince was engaged in a distant part of the field, he gave his gauntlet to John de Morbeck, a gentleman of Artois, whom he had banished some years before. Philip became a prisoner at the same time as his father, but few other captives of note were taken. The greater part of the French knights and nobles fell in this fatal field. To them indeed the slaughter was principally confined, owing probably to their having been deprived of their horses in the beginning of the engagement.

Edward generously treated his royal captive as his sovereign, he refused to be covered or sit down in his presence, and even waited upon him as an attendant at supper. When he brought him afterwards to England, the captive monarch entered London on a white horse,

richly caparisoned, while the victor rode by his side mounted on a little black pony, as a token of his inferiority. John was lodged in the old palace of the Savoy, and was treated more as a king than a prisoner. France never suffered so dreadfully as from the disorders which arose in consequence of John's captivity; the nobles engaged in private wars, the soldiers mutinied for want of pay, the rabble of Paris, instigated by Charles the Bad, insulted the constituted authorities, and the peasants took up arms against their tyrannical landlords. Even when peace was made with England, the war seemed only to assume a new character, for the free companies that had served under Edward, spread themselves over France as freebooters and robbers.

In the midst of these distractions John died at the Savoy; he had been permitted to return home, but his sons whom he left as hostages, broke their parole, and he voluntarily returned to his place of imprisonment, declaring, that "if honour and truth were banished from the rest of the world, they should still find a place in the bosom of kings." Charles, who succeeded to the throne of France, was a wise and politic monarch; though he never personally headed his armies, yet their successes were all due to his prudent arrangements. He had also the good fortune to find in Bertrand du Guesclin, a knight of Brittany, a general fitted to compete with the Black Prince, and to this hero of chivalry he entrusted the command of his armies.

The greatest difficulty Charles had to encounter was the removal of the free companies, and from this he was relieved by the prudent contrivance of du Guesclin. Peter I. king of Castile, deservedly surnamed the

"Cruel," had treacherously murdered his father's mistress, and outraged his subjects by several acts of barbarous tyranny. His natural brother Henry resolved to avenge the wrongs of his mother and his country, and for this purpose made application to the king of France for assistance. It was proposed by du Guesclin that Henry should take the free companies into his pay, and a negociation for this purpose was opened with their leaders. It succeeded; du Guesclin passed the Pyrences with these fierce soldiers, and Peter, deserted by his subjects, was forced to fly from his dominions. He sought refuge with the Black Prince in Guienne, and Edward, who envied the fame of du Guesclin, readily undertook to restore the dethroned monarch.

Scarcely had the Black Prince taken the field, when all the "Free Companies" deserted Henry, and ranged themselves beneath the standard of their ancient commander, whom they literally adored. Henry was, however, able to muster a numerous army, but he was totally defeated at Najara, and forced to fly in his turn. Peter proved ungrateful as well as cruel; he refused the stipulated pay to the English forces; and Edward, finding his soldiers perishing by sickness, and his own health impaired by the climate, was forced to return to Guienne. Loaded by the heavy debts contracted in this expedition, the prince levied a tax on his French subjects, which a great part of the nobility refused to pay. Some of them, more daring than the rest, carried their complaints of English misgovernment before the king of France as lord paramount. Charles had indeed resigned his claim to all feudal supremacy over the English provinces, but, as the ratifications of the treaty had not been exchanged, he pretended that it was not



obligatory, and he, therefore, summoned the Prince of Wales to appear before his tribunal, and answer to such charges as should be brought against him.

Edward threatened to appear at the head of an army, but his declining health made this an empty boast. He was no longer able to mount his horse; and the generals whom he employed were unable to cope with the able du Guesclin. The conquests which the English had obtained in France were lost one after another, while he by whose valour they were gained, was slowly sinking into the grave. He was at length forced to return to England, and though he survived three years longer, the state of his health prevented him from again visiting the scene of his former glory.

The premature death of the Black Prince was justly regarded as a national calamity by the English people. It shortened the days of his royal father, and broke the heart of that renowned warrior the Captal de Buche, who refused all nourishment, and was impatient to follow his beloved master to the tomb. Though the parliament was not at the time on the best of terms with the sovereign, it laid aside all grievances in this moment of sorrow; the members attended the funeral to the cathedral of Canterbury; and soon after petitioned that Richard, the prince's only son, then but ten years old, should be introduced to them, that they might behold the only representative of their departed hero. Never, until the decease of the late Princess Charlotte, did England exhibit such a spectacle of national sorrow as when the Black Prince was consigned to the tomb.

## TIMŪR, COMMONLY CALLED TAMERLANE.

BORN A. D. 1336—DIED A. D. 1405. ✓ •

TIMUR is generally known in Europe by the name of Tamerlane, which is a corruption of Timūr-lung, that is, Timūr the lame, a name which he received in consequence of a personal deformity. He was descended from a noble Tartar family, one of his ancestors having been vizir to Jagtay, the son of Jenghiz Khan, and his father the chief of a powerful tribe. We possess a very extraordinary life of this prince, written by himself,\* from which we extract the following curious particulars of his early education.

“ When I had attained my seventh year, my father took me by the hand, and led me to the school, where he placed me under the charge of the Moollah Aly Beg. The Moollah having written the Arabic alphabet on a plank, placed it before me ; I was much delighted with it, and considered the copying of it as an amusement.

“ When I reached my ninth year, they taught me the daily service of the mosque, during which I always read the ninety-first chapter, denominated ‘ The Sun.’

“ While seated in the school-room, I always took the chief seat, and often fancied myself the commander of all the other boys. One day a subject of conversation was started on which was the best mode of sitting, each boy gave some answer to the question ; when it came to my turn, I said the best mode of sitting is on the knees, for Mohammed has commanded, ‘ whilst in prayer, sit on your knees ;’ on which all the spectators praised me exceedingly. When we came out from school, we began to play as children, but I, assuming the command, stood

\* Published by the Oriental Translation Fund.

upon a high mound, and having divided them into two armies, caused them to fight a sham battle, and when I saw one of the parties worsted, I sent them assistance."

From the same source we derive the following precepts given to Timur by his father Teragay; it would be well with Europe if Christian parents were as diligent in impressing on the minds of their children the truth of the Holy Gospel, as this Tartar chief was in inculcating the precepts of the Koran.

"I request, O Timur, firstly, that you will imitate the example of your illustrious progenitor in conforming to the sacred religion of Mohammed, (on whom and his companions and posterity be the peace of God,) I intreat you never to deviate from his law, but ever to respect and honour his descendants and followers in the persons of the Syeds, the learned, and the prelates of his religion; associate with them, and constantly ask the blessings of the dervishes, the hermits, and the righteous, upon all your undertakings; obey the commands of God, and have mercy upon his creatures.

"Secondly, That you will encourage and give currency and support to the religion of the prophet.

"Thirdly, That you will believe us all to be the servants of God, and appointe by his decree to inhabit this terrestrial globe; that our destinies are predicted, and that whatever is written upon our foreheads must come to pass; as it is decreed that we shall all do so and so, and have not the power of quitting this world, we must be content with whatever fate determines, and be satisfied with whatever God shall give us; we should also assist our poor brethren, and constantly by every means in our power befriend all the creatures of God, and by our practice strengthen the four pillars of the law, viz. prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, and alms.

“Fourthly, Be affectionate to your relations and connexions, injure no person, nor keep any one in bonds, unless the bonds of kindness; deprive no man of his rights by fraud or tyranny; clothe yourself in the robe of justice; avoid the society of the bad and the wicked; keep no man in prison more than three days, and distribute provision to the poor and hungry; and plant yourself in the hearts of your subjects by beneficence, otherwise you will fall from your power and prosperity.”

Timūr early entered upon his warlike career, for the troubled state of Tartary permitted no one to remain in tranquillity. He first served as a partisan leader under his uncle Berlās, but when Toghluck Timūr advanced from Kashgar to subdue the other Tartar tribes, Timūr joined the powerful invader, and was, as a reward, appointed governor of his native province. The principal persons of the province wished him to assume the sovereignty, but this he prudently deferred to a more favourable opportunity. That he was even then unscrupulous in the exercise of despotic power appears from an anecdote, which cannot be better related than in his own words.

“At this time Kykubad, who was called the murderer of kings, for he had put to death the king of Badukshān, waited upon me, and began to flatter me; but as I had no confidence in him, I put him to death.”

Timūr did not long preserve his fealty to Toghluck, he joined the emir Hussein in raising the standard of revolt; a long and desultory war ensued, in which Timūr was frequently on the very brink of ruin; but though “a hunted wanderer on the wild,” he was still the chief of a tribe, and his valiant clansmen came readily to his aid whenever he summoned them. Affairs

at last began to wear a more favourable aspect ; but scarcely did fortune begin to smile than a fierce dispute arose between the allies, principally occasioned by the jealousy and avarice of Hussein. Timūr was at first the weaker party, but the misconduct of his rival soon supplied him with allies, and Hussein, after having been defeated in the field, was closely besieged in the town of Balkh. Having in vain tried the effect of a sally, he sent the following letter to Timūr, soliciting a reconciliation.

“ From the day that I bound round my loins the girdle of enmity to thee, I have never enjoyed a moment of happiness, and I am convinced that all opposition to thee will only increase my misfortunes ; experience has proved that you are aided by Providence, and that good fortune and prosperity attend you while calamity and misfortune have seized me by the neck, and drag me towards you ; forgive me, and let me quit this country to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca.”

Timūr assented to this offer, and promised that when the town was surrendered he would provide his ancient rival with every thing necessary for his pilgrimage. But Hussein, either distrusting the promises made him, or designing to make an attempt for recovering his authority, attempted to escape from the town in the disguise of a pilgrim. The morning dawned before he could escape through the gates, and dreading detection, he hid himself in the cupola of a minaret. Soon after, the Muezzin (crier) entered the minaret, in order, as is the custom in Mohammedan countries, to proclaim the time of first prayer. He saw the disguised emir, and recognized him at the first glance. Hussein offered the Muezzin a valuable string of pearls to keep the matter secret, which he accepted, but instantly went and re-

vealed the whole to Timūr. If we are to believe Timūr's own account, he was anxious to save the life of Hussein, though he permitted the chiefs to try him before a council of war; the trial was interrupted by tumultuous shouts for vengeance, and at length three Tartars fell on him and slew him with his two sons. "I was much affected," says Timūr, "by this melancholy catastrophe, and went to see his body, repeated the funeral prayers, and ordered it to be buried with all due respect." Notwithstanding, he pronounced the next day in the general assembly an extraordinary kind of funeral oration for a person much affected by the melancholy catastrophe!—"I addressed," he says, "the learned body, and asked them, what is the very worst thing in this world?" Some of them said one thing, some another. I then continued, "The best thing in this world is a good man, that is, a person endowed with excellent qualities; consequently the worst thing in this world must be a bad man, imbued with every vice, who, like emir Hussein, is a tyrant, miserly covetous and ignorant, and who fears not God. The whole assembly praised my definition, and offered up prayers for my prosperity."

After the capture of Balkh, Timūr was elected emperor of the Tartars as Jenghiz had been before, and he immediately began to extend his authority over the different tribes. Though he remorselessly punished all those who resisted his sovereignty, yet he readily granted pardon to any of his enemies that tendered their submission. "Sar Bughah," he says, "who had been my declared and open enemy, advanced manfully, and came with great sincerity to my court, having his sword suspended round his neck; on entering into my presence, he placed the sword, and said, 'There is the cimeter,

and here is my neck, cut away, but still I am hopeful from the generosity of your highness ; for since I quitted your service, I have only experienced disgrace and ill luck, therefore I am returned to you.' I liberally forgave him, as he was a courageous man, and I took him into my service."

Having secured Tartary, Timūr invaded Kharasm, which he soon conquered ; the ruler of the country died of a broken heart when he saw that his capital was on the point of being taken. The distracted state of Persia seemed to render a powerful invader a blessing, since he would crush the minor tyrants under whose oppressions the land groaned. Timūr resolved to attempt this conquest, and advanced with his troops into Khorassan. On his road, he visited the chapel of a celebrated Mohammedan saint, when a mad beggar threw a breast of mutton at his head. Timūr regarded this as a good omen,\* and said, " I am persuaded that God will grant me the conquest of Khorassan, because this kingdom has always been called the breast or middle of the inhabitable world." The omen was fulfilled as it had been interpreted ; city after city yielded to the Tartar emperor, no army dared to meet him in the field ; he subdued not only all the northern provinces of Persia, but the adjacent countries Georgia and Armenia, and at length appeared before Ispahan. The governor and chief citizens came to implore the mercy of Timūr, and he promised to spare the city on the condition of their paying a large contribution. They consented, Turkish detachments took possession of the gates, and commis-

\* Timur was very credulous on such subjects. He wrote a book concerning the dreams, omens, and prodigies, that predicted his greatness. A translation of it is prefixed to the Auto-biography already mentioned.

saries were sent to levy the stipulated sum in the various quarters of the city. Everything appeared quiet, a great part of the contribution had been paid, when a blacksmith happened one night to beat a small drum for his amusement; the citizens, mistaking it for a signal of alarm, flocked together, and fell upon the Tartar guards and the commissaries. With the usual blind ferocity of a mob, the multitude tore in pieces every Tartar that could be found, forgetful of the avenger who was close at their gates. Timūr, having received intelligence of the massacre in the morning, immediately led his army to Ispahan, and took the city by storm; he granted protection to the magistrates and the doctors of the law, but ordered all the rest of the citizens to be slaughtered without mercy or distinction. Seventy thousand persons were slain; their heads were cut off, and piled in a ghastly pyramid, which long remained a memorial of this insane insurrection and its ferocious punishment.

The governors of several provinces, on hearing the news of this calamity, sent to tender their submission to the emperor; but he was obliged to suspend for some time his career of conquest, and direct his course back to Tartary, where some of the tribes had conspired against his power. In the space of five years he completely reduced under his sway the whole extent of the Tartarian steppes and deserts. While one of his armies advanced to the great wall of China, another marched to the banks of the Irtysh, and a third penetrated to the Volga. Having thus secured the allegiance of Tartary, he determined to return to Persia, where his absence had endangered his conquests. He subdued without much difficulty the northern and western provinces of Persia, but when he approached Shiraz, he was met in



battle by the gallant Shāh Mansūr, a warrior worthy to compete with the great Timūr. Though Mansūr's forces were far inferior to those led by the Tartar emperor, he did not hesitate a moment in engaging, and his fierce charge seemed for a time to promise decisive success. Timūr himself had nearly fallen beneath his enemy's sword, and was only saved by the strength of his helmet. But the Persian troops did not second the efforts of their leader; Mansūr was surrounded and slain, his followers then lost all hope, and fled. Persia was from that moment at the mercy of the conqueror, who issued an order for the extermination of all the princes of the family of Muzafer. The officers of the conqueror were appointed governors of the Persian provinces; instead of a seal they marked all their official documents with the impress of a bloody hand, thus not obscurely intimating the mode in which the Tartars had acquired power, and the means they would use to secure the possession.'

From Persia Timūr directed his course towards Bagdad, whose sultan, a weak and tyrannical prince, was justly detested by his subjects. They were not disposed to fight for a monarch they disliked, consequently Bagdad and the adjacent territories were easily subdued. The mountain-castle of Takrit, garrisoned by a robber chief, made a more vigorous opposition. After a vain attempt to carry it by storm, Timūr had recourse to the slow but sure operation of sapping. In sixteen days the mines were carried beneath the walls of the fort; they were then filled with combustibles, and fired. When the props were consumed, the front wall with its strongest towers tumbled at once with an awful crash, and the Tartars rushed furiously over the ruins into the body of the place. They encountered a fearful

resistance, for the besieged, hopeless of pardon, fought with all the energies of despair. The robbers at length retired to a strong tower at the top of the rock, which served as a citadel. Seeing that preparations were made for renewing the sap, they offered to surrender if their lives would be spared, but Timūr sternly rejected the application. In the mean time the victorious Tartars, unwilling to wait for the slow operations of the sap, had ascended the rock, and made the robbers prisoners; they were all put to death, and their heads piled in a pyramid as a warning to others. The fort was not wholly destroyed, Timūr having directed that part of the walls and towers should be left standing as a memorial of his victory.

After the capture of Bagdad, the emperor extended his conquests over a great part of western Asia; but was once more forced to return to check his enemies in Tartary, who had crowded to the banners of Toktamish Khān. The battle between the emperor and the khān is said to have been the most fiercely contested of any in which Timūr ever engaged, and he is reported to have gained the victory by stratagem rather than valour. He bribed the standard-bearer of Toktamish to reverse his banner in the midst of the battle, and the khān's soldiers, regarding this as a signal of his death, instantly fled. After this victory, Timūr led his forces into Russia, and advanced as far as Moscow; on his return he subdued Circassia, and completed the reduction of Georgia. He then came back to Persia and severely punished those who had been guilty of insubordination during his absence.

Quiet to such a warrior as Timūr was a state of punishment; scarcely had he restored tranquillity to his dominions, than he prepared for an enterprise more

splendid and arduous than he had yet undertaken, the conquest of India or Hindūstan. His emirs attempted to dissuade him from such an arduous expedition, and he seems to have felt some misgivings on the subject himself. Under these circumstances he was cheered by a dream, the account of which too curiously illustrates his superstitious weakness to be omitted.

“When I was about to invade Hindūstan, and my chiefs, by their backwardness, rendered me doubtful whether I should proceed, I dreamt that I was in a large garden, and saw a number of people who were pruning the trees and sowing seeds; that the garden was full of trees both great and small, on the tops of which the birds had built their nests; I thought that I had a sling in my hand, and that I destroyed the nest with stones from the sling, and drove away all the birds; this dream was fulfilled, when I took that country, by my expelling all the sultans, and taking possession of the kingdom.” He tells us also that he consulted the Koran on the occasion, and that fate directed him to the following verse; “O prophet! fight with the infidels and unbelievers.” This happy omen, too apposite perhaps to have been the effect of chance, satisfied the discontented emirs, and rendered the chiefs anxious to begin their march.

It would not be either instructive or amusing to give a detailed account of this invasion, for it would be nothing more than a repetition of barbarous massacres. One instance may suffice as an example: before the Tartar army reached Dehli, one hundred thousand Indians had been made prisoners, and Timūr, fearing that the operations of his army would be encumbered by such a multitude of captives, ordered them all to be slain, denouncing dreadful vengeance against all who

disobeyed the bloody mandate. His commands were executed to the letter. After the capture of Dehli, he besieged Meerut, and enraged at the opposition he experienced, when the city was taken, he commanded all the male adults to be flayed alive, and the women and children to be sold as slaves. Timūr was a more cruel conqueror than Jenghiz Khān, because to the sanguinary dispositions of a Tartar he added the ferocity of a fanatic; and it is simply on this account that he is so enthusiastically praised by some Mohammedan authors.

Having completed the conquest of Hindūstan, Timūr returned to his capital Samarkand, and seemed anxious to rest for a while from his toils; but he was soon summoned to suppress a rebellion in Persia, which had been provoked by the cruel tyranny of his son Miran. He succeeded in suppressing the revolt, but as usual he punished the insurgents with remorseless severity.

The descendants of Othman, the founder of the Turkish empire, had become very powerful in western Asia, and threatened at no distant period to subvert the feeble throne of Constantinople. Bayezid, or as he is more commonly called Bajazet, had acquired the name Ilde-  
rim, or the Thunderer; had greatly extended his dominions; and at length believing himself able to cope with the great Timūr, he demanded tribute from the north-western provinces of Persia, which had submitted to the Tartar emperor. Anatolia and Syria were consequently subjected to the same ravages as India; the arms of Timūr were everywhere successful; even the city of Damascus was taken and utterly ruined by the savage conquerors. Bayezid at length determined to make one grand stand for his kingdom, and he bravely

met the invaders near Angora in Asia Minor. He was defeated, and taken prisoner; some traditions assert that he was confined in an iron cage until grief and shame put an end to his wretched existence; others assert that he was treated with great kindness, and supported in a style of royal magnificence to the hour of his death. To account for this and similar discrepancies in the accounts of Timūr's life and exploits, it must be remembered that he was one of the sect of the Shiites, a kind of Mohammedan Protestants, and that therefore the Sonnites, or orthodox, to which sect the Arabian historians belong, take all possible pains to depreciate his character, which is just as extravagantly praised by the Persian authors. We must not, however, omit the dreams which the emperor informs us predicted his success.

“When I invaded Syria, the armies of Egypt and Constantinople both joined the Syrians; on which occasion my nobles came to me, and said, in a desponding manner, ‘To contend with three nations, and to defeat three armies, requires a greater force than we have.’ I was then engaged in prayer, and soon after having fallen asleep, I dreamt that I ascended a mountain, and that when I arrived at the top, I was overwhelmed in black and white clouds, and caught in a whirlwind of dust; this was succeeded by a heavy shower of rain which soon laid the dust. The learned of my court expounded the dream in this manner, viz.—‘The mountain is the kingdom of Syria, the black and white clouds are the armies of Egypt and Syria, the rain is the army of your majesty, which will shortly annihilate your enemies, and settle all these disturbances.’ I placed much faith in my dream, persevered in my intentions, and was victorious. Again, when the Kyser\* Bayezid advanced

\* Cæsar or Emperor; the name given by the Tartars and other Orientals to the sovereigns of the west.

against me with four hundred thousand Rūmians,\* and the shouts of the warriors were excessive, I addressed myself to the prophet and his descendants, and employed myself in prayer that night; I dreamt that I was travelling through a wilderness, and that I saw a number of people on all sides; at the same time I observed a great light which seemed attached to the bottom of the heavens: I went towards the light, but was interrupted by three mounds of earth which fell before me, and from which there arose a great smoke; I also saw five persons, who having taken the hands of each other, proceeded before me. From seeing these persons, I felt a degree of awe and dread, and I heard some one say, This is the prophet who is going with his friends to heaven; upon which I hastened, and having overtaken them, made my obeisance to Mohammed, (upon whom and his descendants be the grace of God!) the prophet made a sign to one of his four companions, who had a club in his hand, to give it me; when I took it in my hand, it became very long. When I awoke from my dream, I found myself exalted and exhilarated by this vision, and became strong of heart, as if I had been strengthened and aided by the white standard of Ali;† and it was in consequence of this dream that I was enabled to take from the Kyser the kingdom of Rūm."

After the conquest of Bayezid, Timūr easily subdued the rest of Syria; he took Smyrna after a siege of only fourteen days, though it had resisted the forces of Bayezid for seven years. The rapidity of his success did not incline the conqueror to mercy, he put the inhabitants to the sword, and destroyed the city by fire.

\* Romans; Europe and Asia Minor was at this period called Rome by the ignorant Orientals.

† The nephew and son-in-law of Mohammed, whom the Shiites regard as his only legitimate successor.

About the same time also he received the submission of the Egyptians, restored his supremacy in Georgia, and suppressed a revolt in the western provinces of Persia. He then employed himself for some time in establishing order through his extensive dominions. Though now arrived at the age of seventy, Timūr meditated new and more extensive conquests; he summoned a grand council of his emirs and generals in a very characteristic speech. "The vast conquests I have made," he said, "were not obtained without violence, which has occasioned the destruction of a great number of God's creatures; to atone, therefore, for my past crimes, I am resolved to perform a good action, namely, to make war on the infidels and exterminate the idolaters of China; it is fitting that the soldiers by whose instrumentality crimes were committed, should also be the instruments of my repentance; I, therefore, demand that we should march into China, to acquire the merits of a holy war, by demolishing the temples of idols, and erecting mosques in their stead. The Koran has told us 'that good works efface the sins of this world.'"

Timūr set out in the depth of winter, and crossed the river Sihon (the ancient Jaxartes) on the ice. But he now approached the end of his career. He was seized with mortal illness in the city of Otrar, and expired in the arms of his grandson, whom he appointed his successor.

Timūr was sanguinary and fanatical, but his Institutes show that he possessed a considerable share of political wisdom. He gives us some curious particulars of his love of justice, but incidentally lets us see that it never was allowed to interfere with his schemes of ambition. His Autobiography and Institutes, of which we have made great use in writing his life, are among the most curious specimens of oriental literature.

## CHARLES V. EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

BORN A. D. 1500—DIED A. D. 1558.

A COMBINATION of circumstances, so extraordinary as to be scarcely credible, prepared for the prince, whose life we are about to relate, an inheritance greater than the dominions of any sovereign since the days of Charlemagne. In right of his father, he was heir to the archduchy of Austria, the duchy of Burgundy, and the earldom of Flanders: by his mother he became the presumptive inheritor of the Spanish crown, and of the extensive regions recently annexed to the Spanish monarchy by the discoveries of Christopher Columbus. On the death of his grandmother, the celebrated Isabella, his grandfather Ferdinand, instead of retiring to Arragon, usurped the regency of Castile, but was forced to resign it by the nobles of that kingdom. They gave the administration to Philip duke of Burgundy, as guardian to his son Charles, being compelled to pass over the duchess Joanna, as her intellects were disordered. Philip did not long enjoy the acquisition; he died rather suddenly, and Ferdinand was appointed regent chiefly through the exertions of cardinal Ximenes. The education of Charles was entrusted to a learned ecclesiastic, who soon discovered that his pupil's taste was more inclined to the practical business of life, than to the abstract subtleties that in that age usurped the name of science. With great wisdom the prince's preceptor encouraged this natural taste, and resigning all care of scholastic literature, he laboured to make his pupil a soldier and a statesman.

Before Charles had attained his sixteenth year, Ferdinand died, and as his mother's incapacity was ne-



torious, he instantly assumed the title of king; the Castilian Cortes were at first disposed to insist on their right of initiating all measures connected with the succession to the crown, but through the influence of Ximenes, they were induced to withdraw their opposition. Ximenes acted as regent in Spain, and never perhaps has Europe produced a statesman who displayed such consummate ability. But Charles, seduced by his Flemish advisers, proved ungrateful to the cardinal, and Ximenes, dismissed from office and banished from court, died of a broken heart; thus adding another to the numerous examples of the vanity of ambition, the ingratitude of courts, and the insecurity of power. Johnson's fine lines on Wolsey may well be applied to Ximenes, though the Spanish cardinal was superior to the British both in talent and integrity.

“ Still to new heights his restless wishes tower,  
 Claim leads to claim, and power advances power;  
 Till conquest, unresisted, ceased to please,  
 And rights submitted left him none to seize.  
 At length his sovereign frowns—the train of state  
 Mark the keen glance and watch the sign to hate;  
 Where'er he turns he meets a stranger's eye,  
 His suppliants scorn him, and his followers fly.

\* \* \* \* \*

With age, with care, with maladies oppress'd,  
 He seeks the refuge of monastic rest;  
 Grief aids disease, remember'd folly stings,  
 And his last sighs reproach the faith of kings.”

The attachment of Charles to his Flemish favourites greatly disgusted the Castilian nobility, and a formidable resistance to the sovereign was organized in all the Spanish provinces. Before, however, the popular discontent vented itself in any act of violence, the Emperor Maximilian died, and after an interval of five

months, Charles was elected his successor. Francis I. king of France, was the rival competitor of the Spanish monarch, and his disappointment was the first cause of a war that distracted all Europe. The Spaniards were by no means pleased with the new power that their sovereign had acquired, and they presented to him some very strong remonstrances, similar to the English petition of right. These demands for redress were disregarded, and Charles sailed for Germany, leaving behind him a discontented people.

Many professions of friendship and regard were interchanged between Charles and Francis, but with such manifest insincerity, that neither party was deceived. England at this time held the balance of power, and had Henry VIII. used his advantages, he might easily have become the arbiter of Europe; but his fine talents were rendered useless by his gross sensuality; and he sacrificed his own interests and those of his country to gratify every idle whim that unlicensed passion could suggest. The blame, however, must not rest on him alone; his minister Wolsey possessed certainly unquestionable abilities, but they were overbalanced by his vanity and ambition; he had fixed his heart on the papacy, and he directed the policy of England into that course which was most likely to gain his favourite object.

After the ceremony of the coronation had been performed at Aix-la-Chapelle with more than ordinary splendour, Charles convoked a diet at Worms for the purpose of deliberating on the religious disputes that agitated Germany. It would be impossible in our scanty page to give even an outline of the origin of the Reformation; suffice it to say that Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar, had in the preceding reign op-

posed the scandalous sale of indulgences; that while examining the papal claims to grant such pardons for sin, he discovered several other corruptions of the Church of Rome, and exposed them with an honest boldness which excited the alarm of all the ecclesiastical authorities, and filled them with an eager desire for vengeance. Luther, however, found an able protector in the elector of Saxony, and was besides supported by a great portion of the people, who were disgusted by the flagrant immoralities of the clergy and the notorious profligacy of the ecclesiastical administration.

The character of the great Reformer has been alternately the theme of extravagant eulogy, and still more extravagant abuse. Truth cannot be said to be between, because Luther's merits were such as rarely fall to the lot of man, and his failings were only such as are incident to humanity; his errors in most cases attributable to the circumstances of his position, and the period in which he lived. But it must be said that even the meritorious parts of his character and conduct were very liable to misapprehension, and consequently to misrepresentation. His daring spirit frequently led him to defy authorities that might have been conciliated, and to provoke opposition where gentle means might have gradually secured friendship. In the fervour of his hatred against the corruptions of Christianity, he not unfrequently used language which hurt a tender conscience; and he sometimes retorted the abuse of his antagonists with virulence equal to their own. His extreme candour led him to reveal his inmost thoughts and feelings in the crude form that they first presented themselves to his mind, and his contempt for mystery and affectation made him too frequently disregard that salutary caution which teaches us to be sure of effecting

our purpose before we propose a change, and to moderate our feelings of the right by our sense of the expedient. Sincere, honest, energetic, he was certainly one of the fittest instruments that could be found to head a reforming party; armed with strong common sense, before which all the fallacies of scholastic logic withered, he was certainly the most formidable enemy that the school-men and divines of the Romish church could have found. He certainly occupied a vantage-ground, for he supported the great principle which may be called the charter of humanity, the right to exercise reason in matters of faith. However corrupt and dark an age may be, the question "whether in matters connected with our eternal welfare we should think for ourselves, or get popes and councils to think for us," may very fairly be left to the decision of the bulk of mankind, if once it be fairly propounded to them. Luther, however, owed no small share of his early popularity to the indecent violence of his enemies; they passed sentence of condemnation upon him without hearing his defence, and thus secured for him the popular favour, which is rarely refused to the victim of injustice.

The proceedings against Luther were suspended by the commencement of a war between Charles and Francis. It was precipitated by the rashness of the latter, whose high chivalrous feelings were not controlled by ordinary prudence. His arms were everywhere unsuccessful; the pope and the king of England joined the emperor against him, and the petty intrigues of his mother deprived him of the services of his best generals. On the death of Leo, Charles procured the election of his creature Adrian to the papacy; he then visited Henry VIII. in his own capital, and having

thus secured the aid of Rome and England, he resolved to visit Spain, where the popular discontents had exploded in a fierce insurrection.

The arrival of the emperor terrified those who had been so recently in arms against him; but he relieved their fears by publishing a generous act of amnesty. In the mean time Francis, though surrounded by enemies, had everywhere defeated the Imperial forces, though he neglected to improve his advantages; the pope died suddenly, and was succeeded by another imperialist Clement VII.; and Luther secured the triumph of the Reformation in Germany by publishing his celebrated version of the New Testament. The diet of Nuremberg gave a decisive proof that the reformed doctrines had influenced many nominal adherents of the Holy See, by presenting a list of one hundred grievances which they alleged arose from papal misgovernment, and demanding that a general council should be summoned to redress them.

The constable of Bourbon had been driven by the intrigues of the queen-mother, to become a traitor to Francis, his relation and his sovereign; Charles took advantage of this defection to invade France, but after some trifling success, his army was forced to raise the siege of Marseilles, and retire with precipitation. Happy would it have been for Francis had he remained contented with these advantages, but he was madly desirous to possess the Milanese, and he, therefore, pursued the Imperialists into Italy. While besieging Pavia, he succeeded in forming a treaty with the pope, and relying on this accession, he weakened his army by sending six thousand men to invade the kingdom of Naples. The constable of Bourbon and the other imperial generals

took advantage of this imprudent act. They suddenly attacked the French, and after a desperate engagement, gained a decisive victory. Francis remained a prisoner, and more than ten thousand of his gallant followers were slain. Charles did not use his victory with moderation; he offered very harsh terms to his royal captive, and when they were refused, ordered him to be transmitted as a prisoner to Spain. The pope, unable any longer openly to resist the imperial power, submitted in a manner little creditable to his honour, and afterwards engaged in low intrigues, whose detection exposed him to danger and covered him with disgrace. After remaining about thirteen months in captivity, Francis signed a treaty with the emperor, against the conditions of which he secretly protested, and returning was received by his subjects with enthusiastic delight.

Germany was distracted by the insurrection of the peasants, and the progress of the reformation was in some degree checked by the excesses with which some fanatics, under the command of Muncer, disgraced the name of religion; but these calamities were soon removed, and the Reformers, protected by John, the new elector of Saxony, pursued their career with little interruption. Charles would certainly have interfered more promptly to check the innovation, had he not found himself exposed to the hostility of a formidable league formed against him by the pope and his late captive Francis, whom the Holy Father had encouraged to perjury by absolving him from his sworn obligation. At the head of the new league appeared the English monarch; the king's vanity was gratified by his being named chief of the Holy Alliance; Wolsey was gained

by a large bribe, and was besides eager to punish Charles for not having procured him the papacy as had been formerly stipulated.

The measures of the confederates were badly planned and worse executed. In a short time the pope was forced to humble himself to the imperialists; but having perfidiously violated his engagements, he was soon made to feel the weight of the emperor's vengeance. The constable of Bourbon, who commanded in the Milanese, had not money to pay his troops, and he took the daring resolution of gratifying his men, and punishing the pope, by plundering Rome.

The march of Bourbon was so rapid, that there was little time to prepare for resistance, but the city nevertheless made a brave defence. At length Bourbon, to encourage his men, seized a scaling ladder, planted it against the wall, and began to mount; he was struck by a shot, and fell mortally wounded. Far from being discouraged, his men pressed eagerly forward to avenge his death, and their impetuosity bore down all opposition. The city was taken and subjected to every cruelty that lust and rapine could dictate. The days of Alaric and Attila were more than renewed; never did Goths, or Huns, or Vandals, inflict such calamities on the eternal city as those it had to endure from the subjects of a Catholic monarch. The pope retired to Saint Angelo, an untenable fortress, which was soon forced to surrender, and the Supreme Pontiff became a prisoner. When Charles received intelligence of these events, he acted a solemn farce of hypocrisy equally ludicrous and disgusting. He put his court into mourning for the calamity that had befallen the head of the church, and ordered that public prayers should be offered for his deliverance, though the imperial order would have been

sufficient to procure his liberation. This war proved of essential service to the cause of the Reformation; Charles, exasperated against the pope, and alarmed by the strength of the Holy Alliance, had neither inclination nor leisure to watch the Protestants, and his own printed apology for going to war with the pope, was not excelled in violent invective by any of Luther's most fierce declarations.

Charles did not derive all the advantages he expected from the capture of Rome. Bourbon's soldiers were too long accustomed to act independently, and they refused obedience to the Imperial generals. The Catholic sovereigns of Europe, shocked at the indignity offered to the pope, were likely to combine against the emperor, and orders were consequently given to liberate Clement, but not until he had paid a heavy ransom. At the same time some efforts were made to re-establish the peace of Europe, but they were disconcerted by the obstinacy of Francis, who eagerly sought an opportunity of obliterating the memory of his defeat at Pavia. It is a curious characteristic of the age, to find that the French king challenged the emperor to decide their differences by personal combat, and that the challenge was accepted. But it was found impossible to arrange the terms of the duel, and the war was continued as before. The French armies, after having overrun Italy, were subjected to a series of reverses, arising partly from the imprudence of their leaders, and partly from the treachery of the pope; they were finally driven from the peninsula, having by their misconduct changed their allies into enemies. But Charles was not equally successful in other quarters, and all parties became weary of a war from which none derived any substantial advantage. Peace was at length concluded by the in-



terposition of two female negotiators, the emperor's aunt and the king's mother. The terms of the treaty were very dishonourable to Francis, for he made no stipulations in favour of his allies; while Charles took as much care of the interests of his friends as of his own.

Charles having been constituted the arbiter of Italy, proceeded thither from Spain with all the pomp of a conqueror. But to the surprise of most politicians, his arrangements were made in a spirit of fairness and moderation that no one had anticipated. But the cause of these equitable proceedings was not the emperor's love of justice, but the alarm with which he was filled by the rapid progress of the Turks, and the disturbed state of Germany. The second diet at Spire, from which much had been expected by the friends of the papacy, could only be persuaded to ratify the old declaration issued against Luther at Worms, and to prohibit any further innovations in religion until a general council was assembled. These votes were under the circumstances a complete nullity, and were besides protested against by seven princes of the empire, and fourteen deputies from free cities, on the 19th of April 1529. From this circumstance the followers of Luther were named Protestants, a name which has been since extended to all who dissent from the doctrine and discipline of the church of Rome. The emperor and the pope were displeased by the timidity of the diet, and still more by the boldness of the dissidents; they deliberated long on the measures most expedient to be adopted, and it was finally resolved that Charles should visit Germany, and employ his personal influence to check the progress of the reformed doctrines. Another cause hurried the emperor to this measure; he found that he only possessed an empty title and a nominal

authority in Germany, and he hoped, by getting his brother Ferdinand acknowledged king of the Romans, to secure his family in the succession, and to obtain a lieutenant-general of the empire, who would support his power during his absence.

Soon after the emperor's arrival, a diet was held at Augsburg, and from the moderation at first displayed by all parties, hopes were entertained that an accommodation might yet be effected. The Protestant confession of faith was prepared by Melancthon, the most moderate of the Reformers, and its calm, temperate style seemed well calculated to win favour. But the bigots of the Romish party rejected this last chance of conciliation, and Charles, urged forward by them, issued severe edicts of persecution, prohibiting the preaching and toleration of the reformed doctrines. The Protestant princes, on the other hand, formed a league at Smalkalde for mutual defence, and implored the kings of France and England to protect and aid their confederacy. Charles was alarmed by these spirited proceedings, which occurring at a time when the Turks menaced an invasion, might have proved the ruin of the empire; he, therefore, entered into a negociation with the Protestants, and toleration was granted to the reformed doctrines by the diet at Ratisbon. In consequence of this prudential measure, Charles was enabled to march against the Turks with the whole strength of his empire, and he compelled them to retreat. Returning from his victorious campaign, he proceeded to Italy, where he hoped, to persuade the pope to assemble a general council, as the only means of terminating the controversies that agitated Europe. Clement was utterly averse to such a proceeding, and he raised so many difficulties, that the measure was laid aside for a time as

impracticable. Clement also continued his negotiations with Francis greatly to the annoyance of Charles, and at the same time he excommunicated the king of England for divorcing the emperor's aunt. The violence and duplicity of the pontiff threatened very fatal consequences to the church, but his death averted the calamity. He was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, who took the name of Paul III.

Protestantism was again subjected to disgrace by the insurrection of the Anabaptists, whose cruelties and licentiousness seemed the acts rather of monsters than men. They were at length subdued by the bishop of Munster, who received the zealous support of the Protestant as well as the Catholic princes. Ferdinand, anxious to have his title of king of the Romans acknowledged by the league of Smalkalde, granted further concessions to the Protestants, which greatly annoyed the new pope, and were not altogether pleasing to Charles. Paul pretended to be anxious for the assembling of a general council, but his determination to have it meet in some Italian city, occasioned so much jealousy and suspicion, that the project was abandoned, as the pontiff probably had foreseen.

While these matters were in progress, Charles undertook an expedition to Africa, with the double purpose of checking the pirates of Barbary, and restoring the sultan of Tunis, who had been deposed by the celebrated Barbarossa. The emperor's arms were crowned with complete success; Tunis was taken and restored to its rightful sovereign; Barbarossa narrowly escaped by flight, and twenty thousand liberated Christian slaves diffused the fame of the emperor's exploits. It was at this unfavourable juncture that Francis prepared to renew the war without the assistance of a single ally.

Paul was resolved to maintain a strict neutrality; the king of England refused aid unless Francis imputed his conduct in renouncing the papal supremacy; and the princes of the league of Smalkalde could not trust a sovereign who bitterly persecuted the Protestants in his own dominions. To compensate for these disadvantages, Francis had a numerous army ready to obey his orders, while the greater part of his rival's forces had been disbanded after their return from the African expedition. The first efforts of Francis were successful; but he was induced by his artful rival to stop short in the midst of his victorious career, and commence a tedious course of negotiation, during which Charles had leisure to recruit his strength. When the emperor's objects were effected, he threw off the mask, and pronounced in a public assembly at Rome an invective against Francis, the most elaborate and virulent that had ever been spoken by a monarch. Immediately afterwards the imperialists invaded France; but the plan of defensive warfare adopted by the French soon exhausted the patience and resources of the invaders; and Charles was forced to retire after having lost a great portion of his army, and no small portion of his military renown, which he valued more highly. Francis failed as signally in an invasion of Flanders, and peace was again restored. Dread of the Turks, with whom Francis had made a treaty, was the motive which urged Charles to adopt pacific measures, while Francis was impelled by dread of the disgust and resentment which his alliance with the infidels had excited throughout Europe.

During the emperor's absence in Africa, the league of Smalkalde had acquired fresh strength, and his proceeding to Spain after his unsuccessful invasion of France, left them free to extend their confederacy. The most

important accession they received was Henry duke of Saxony; his brother George, who had preceded him in the sovereignty, was a zealous Catholic, but Henry was devoted heart and soul to the cause of the reformed religion, and soon became the head of the league.

While Charles was engaged in subjecting the refractory cortes of Spain to the royal authority, he was suddenly alarmed by the intelligence of a formidable conspiracy at Ghent. The citizens, indignant at being compelled to pay what they regarded as an illegal tax, conspired to throw off the imperial authority, and offered to place themselves under the protection of France. Charles received this intelligence from Francis himself, who hoped by such an act, of generosity to gain from the emperor's gratitude a grant of the Milanese territory. Charles asked and obtained permission to pass through France, in order that he might the sooner reach his refractory subjects; and Francis treated his rival with all the magnificent hospitality that his brilliant court could display. The unfortunate citizens of Ghent were unable to resist the overwhelming forces of the imperialists; Charles entered the city in triumph, and severely punished the revolters; but no sooner had he quelled the disturbances in the Netherlands, than he declared his fixed resolution never to grant a French prince the investiture of the Milanese. This dishonourable proceeding is one of the greatest stains on the character of Charles; it was a refinement in perfidy to take advantage of the generosity displayed by his open-hearted rival, and afterwards laugh at his credulous simplicity. Francis was exposed to as much scorn as the emperor was to censure; and, as is usual, he was more enraged at the ridicule which his folly excited,

than at the injury his interests had received. The violence with which he expressed his resentment, proved that the peace of Europe was not destined to be of long continuance.

This was not the only transaction which has rendered the year 1540 memorable in the annals of the human race; it was rendered even more conspicuous by the foundation of the order of the Jesuits, whose influence on the ecclesiastical and political affairs of Europe was once truly formidable. Its founder was Ignatius Loyola, a visionary enthusiast, but who, acting under the direction of artful and designing men, organized a system for the government of his society, the most complete in itself, and the most dangerous to all existing governments, that ever was devised by human cunning. Paul at once saw the advantages that might be derived from such an institution: he readily sanctioned the formation of the society, granted its members the fullest privileges, and appointed Loyola, the founder, first general of the order.

No sooner had Charles re-established order in the Netherlands, than he directed his attention to the affairs of Germany, which he was conscious of having neglected too long. In order to gratify the princes of the Smalkalde league, he sanctioned a conference at Worms between the leading divines of the Protestant and Catholic parties. From thence it was adjourned to Ratisbon, but after many days of disputation, it became manifest that a reconciliation was hopeless. Charles closed the conference, and procured a decree from the diet which virtually established liberty of conscience. The causes of the unusual spirit of toleration displayed by the emperor were his dread that the Turks would

take advantage of the troubles in Hungary to invade Germany, and his anxiety to undertake an expedition against Algiers.

When Charles visited Italy on his way to Africa, he had an interview with the pope, who was by no means pleased with the late arrangements respecting religion. The pontiff could not prevail upon the emperor to alter his regulations; he also failed in reconciling Francis to the terms of the late peace, and his attempts to dissuade the emperor from his Algerine expedition were equally ineffectual. The preparations of Charles for the attack of Algiers were made on a most extensive scale, but unfortunately the armament did not sail until the season was very far advanced. Scarcely had the troops landed in Africa, when a dreadful storm arose, which dispersed their fleet and flooded their camp; they were at the same time exposed to the harassing attacks of the Arabs, and so severe were their sufferings that the emperor was forced to return. The troops re-embarked, and a second storm arose which exposed them to fresh calamities; the scattered ships reached different ports in Spain and Italy, diffusing every where exaggerated accounts of the losses that the imperial army had sustained. Francis was encouraged by the intelligence to renew the war, for which the recent assassination of his ambassadors by an imperial general afforded him an excellent pretext. He directed his efforts against Spain and Flanders, which were badly prepared for resistance, but his success did not correspond with the extent of his preparations. The war was continued through four campaigns with no decisive success on either side, and was then terminated by a peace which left matters nearly in their former situation. Charles was anxious to free himself from foreign enemies before commencing

to put in execution the plans he had formed for humbling the Protestants in Germany; but to conceal his designs he pretended to be dissatisfied with the pope's proceeding to summon a general council at Trent. The Protestant princes, however, were not deceived; they saw that a dangerous crisis was approaching, and they prepared to meet it with firmness and courage.

In the year 1545, the emperor personally attended the diet at Worms, and his equivocal conduct justly raised the suspicions of the Protestants; but the want of unity in their councils prevented them from organizing an effective opposition, and the death of Luther, in the year 1546, greatly discouraged the princes of the league. Some of the confederates also were dissatisfied with the conduct of others, and Prince Maurice of Saxony was devotedly attached to the imperial party. Encouraged by these circumstances, the emperor and the pope formed a league for the extirpation of heresy, which the latter imprudently published, and the Protestants immediately began to arm in their own defence.

The war was badly conducted by the confederates; they lost several favourable opportunities of striking decisive blows, and negotiated when everything depended on rapidity of movement. In consequence of this imprudence, the greater part of the Protestant princes were forced to accept peace on very humiliating conditions. Charles would probably have succeeded in establishing complete despotism in Germany, had not the pope become jealous of his power, and not only recalled the Roman contingent, but secretly intrigued against him with Francis. The death of the French king, however, relieved the emperor from his disquietude, and enabled him to resume his operations against the elector of Saxony, who had not yet submitted. At



the battle of Mulhausen, the elector was defeated, and taken prisoner ; the unfortunate prince was treated with a harshness that reflects little credit on the character of Charles. To save his life, the captive elector agreed to resign his dominions, but neither threats nor persuasions could prevail upon him to abandon his religion. Charles very reluctantly gave Maurice possession of the territories with which he had purchased the support of that selfish prince ; but Maurice was as skilled in diplomatic intrigues as the emperor, who had the mortification to find himself overmatched at his favourite weapons. Maurice was also more justly offended by the treatment which his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse, received ; he surrendered to the emperor on Maurice's persuasion, and was not only detained a prisoner, but treated with great contumely and insult. Charles having thus conquered the Protestant princes of Germany, began to treat the free cities that had embraced the cause of the reformation with great cruelty, and adopted the most vigorous measures to enforce obedience to the council of Trent. But the pope having virtually broken up the council, the reformed religion was saved in the midst of its greatest danger by its worst enemy.

Under these circumstances, the emperor himself drew a rule of faith, which, as it was designed to be temporary, he called the *Interim*, and he resolved to enforce its adoption both on Catholics and Protestants, for, though infinitely more favourable to the former, it was almost equally disliked by both. The imperial cities made the most violent opposition to the *Interim*, but submission was extorted by violence from all but Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck. But even at this moment, when the spirit of the Protestants seemed all but extinct, and the imperial authority irresistible,

a plan was formed by one, least to be suspected, for reviving the one and humbling the other. The contriver of this project was Maurice of Saxony, whose exertions had contributed so materially to the emperor's success in the former war.

Love of religion, and zeal for liberty, were not the only, and probably not the most influential, causes that stimulated Maurice. He was ambitious of becoming the head of the Protestant league, and he was eager to revenge the injuries that his father-in-law had suffered, and the neglect with which his representations in the landgrave's behalf had been treated. But he masked his designs under a veil of consummate duplicity; not only did he enforce the observance of the Interim in his dominions, but he personally undertook the siege of the refractory city of Magdeburg. The city surrendered, and obtained such favourable terms, that the burghers elected Maurice their chief magistrate, and obtained from him a secret promise that their fortifications should not be destroyed. By the persuasion of Maurice the Protestant princes were induced to nominate ambassadors to the council of Trent; they selected some of the most eminent divines to accompany their delegates, but naturally demanded full assurance of their safety. The pope was averse to the admission of such members into the council, and raised difficulties about the safe-conducts; thus Charles was involved in a negotiation which effectually prevented him from attending to the schemes of Maurice. That crafty prince had actually concluded a treaty with the French king, and secured the support of all the confederates, before his designs were even suspected.

At length Maurice's preparations were complete; he published a spirited manifesto, which fell on the impe-

rial court like a thunderbolt; and pushed forward his warlike operations with such rapidity, that accident alone saved Charles from being made a prisoner. The council of Trent was instantly broken up; the Lutheran religion was restored in all the cities where it had been suppressed; and the edifice of power which Charles had so laboriously constructed was overthrown. After some unsuccessful efforts in the field, and a vain attempt to entangle Maurice in a negotiation, the emperor was forced to consent to the peace of Passau, which secured both freedom of religion and the independence of the German princes. Charles was equally unsuccessful in his war against France, and the mortifications he experienced began to make rapid inroads on his constitution. The marriage of his son Philip to Queen Mary of England, whose memory is so deservedly execrated, served in some degree to console him for those losses, but subsequent events did not realise the expectations which he formed from this union.

The remainder of the emperor's reign was spent in the midst of political agitations similar to those already recorded. He became at length weary of the world, and resigned the crown of Spain to his son Philip, and the empire to his brother Ferdinand. The place he chose for his retirement was the monastery of Saint Justus in Spain, whose secluded situation had attracted his notice many years previously. In this retirement Charles lived somewhat more than a year, amusing himself with the mechanical arts, but devoting the greater part of his time to religious exercises. He was particularly curious with respect to clocks and watches, and when he found that he could never bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he is said to have regretted his folly in having laboured so strenuously to establish

uniformity of sentiment on the mysterious subject of religion. But towards the close of his life he became the slave of a gloomy superstition, and as an act of extraordinary penance, he resolved to witness the celebration of his own funeral. The effect of this ceremony was too powerful for his weakened frame; he was seized the next day with a fever of which he soon after expired. The character of Charles is that of a great rather than a good sovereign; his talents were naturally moderate, but they were improved to the utmost by patience and diligence. His greatest defects were ambition and cunning; but he deserves to be gratefully remembered as the only energetic partizan of papal supremacy that refused to kindle the flames of persecution.

### GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

BORN A. D. 1594—DIED A. D. 1632.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was the son of Charles IX. who had been raised to the throne by the Swedes, after the deposition of his nephew Sigismund. The early youth of Gustavus displayed such striking marks of genius, prudence, and knowledge, that though only in his minority at the time of his father's death, the states of Sweden permitted him to undertake the administration of affairs, though the country was then involved in a war with Denmark, Russia, and Poland. Though apparently overmatched by any of these powers singly, Gustavus showed no fear of encountering their allied strength, and he displayed so much vigour that Christian of Denmark willingly accepted the proffered mediation of England and Holland, and agreed to peace on equitable conditions. The war with Russia continued

for some time longer, but was at length terminated by a similar intervention. Gustavus had now leisure to devote himself to the improvement of his kingdom, and at the same time to direct the whole military strength of his kingdom to the prosecution of the Polish war. Sigismund, king of Poland, continued hostilities against Sweden contrary to the wish and votes of the States of his realm, trusting that he would obtain the support of the emperor and other Catholic princes; but his hopes were frustrated by the troubles in Germany, where the war between the evangelical union of the Protestants and the holy league of the Catholics was waged with great fury and the most extraordinary alternations of success. It was during this war that the Swedish monarch introduced those changes in military discipline which subsequently rendered his army so formidable to his enemies without ever becoming a scourge to his friends. He enforced by precept and example the strictest morality, and at an age when a soldier and a reprobate were regarded as almost synonymous terms, he made his troops examples of honesty and moderation. Schiller puts into the mouth of a Swedish deserter, who was unable to bear the curb placed upon his evil passions, the following complaint of the stern morality enforced by the young monarch:

“ What a coil and a turmoil, in word and in deed,  
 With that plague of his people—Gustavus the Swede !  
 His camp was a church, and a chapel each tent,  
 And to it at morning and evening we went ;  
 To psalms and to prayers round the standard we flew,  
 By the morning reveille and the evening tattoo ;  
 And if we but ventured an oath or a jest,  
 He would preach from the saddle as well as the best.”

But he principally exerted himself to suppress the

absurd practice of duelling; he declared that he would punish capitally the survivors of such barbarous combats, and the determination he showed to keep his word, soon put an end to this pernicious custom. Thenceforward no challenges were heard in the Swedish camp.

At length the numerous victories obtained by the Swedes inclined the Polish monarch to consent to a truce, which Gustavus hastily concluded, because he was anxious to undertake the expedition into Germany which has crowned his name with immortal honour. He was principally induced to undertake this enterprise by the solicitations of the Protestant princes, who were cruelly oppressed by the superior force of the Catholic League, and weakened by their own mutual jealousies.

The treaty of peace between the Catholics and Protestants left undecided the two most important subjects of dispute,—the extent of religious toleration, and the appropriation of ecclesiastical property. The latter topic was infinitely the more difficult of arrangement. The bishoprics and abbacies of the Empire were temporal dignities and territorial possessions, rather than spiritual offices: it was, consequently, not easy to determine, whether they ought of right to be forfeited if the persons who held them embraced the Protestant faith. It is true, that the Protestants retained all the sees that had been secularised before the treaty; but they could not but be grieved to see, that by attaching forfeiture as a penalty to conversion, the progress of their religion was checked, and its security weakened. All that the Reformed Church obtained by the peace of Augsburg was toleration: its existence was permitted, but not sanctioned. Even to the last the Catholic Church would rather risk the loss of every thing by force, than voluntarily yield the smallest matter to jus-

tice. This would have speedily brought ruin on the cause had the Protestants continued unanimous ; but, unfortunately, they soon divided into two hostile sects, the Lutherans and Calvinists, thus affording the court of Rome and its able emissaries, the Jesuits, an opportunity of taking advantage of their dissensions. The insurrection in the Netherlands was another cause of the war in Germany ; for Germany was at that time a warlike magazine for all the other powers of Europe. With German auxiliaries Philip warred against the Netherlands, and with German auxiliaries were the insurgent provinces defended. Hence the mutual animosities of the rival creeds were perpetuated and strengthened ; hence both parties were accustomed to regard each other as virtually at war, though the contest was waged at a distance from their dominions. The Bohemians, who had rejected the papal yoke, in the days of John Huss, had won by their arms some important concessions ; amongst others, the administration of the sacrament in both kinds, whence they were called Utraquists. But the distinctive name soon began to lose its efficacy, and the Bohemian brethren became hourly more closely allied to the German Protestants. The efforts made by the Emperors to check the progress of the Reformation in Bohemia were among the chief causes of " the thirty years' war."

Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany, was despotic by disposition and a bigot by education : had he possessed only one of these vices, he would have been able to have done incalculable mischief either to civil or religious liberty ; but the union of the two made him comparatively innocuous. His arbitrary dispositions alienated the German Catholics ; his indiscriminate intolerance drove to arms not only the Protestants, but also those

who were "halting between two opinions." Aided, however, by the treasures of Rome and Spain, possessing the authority with which custom had invested the Imperial title, and above all, supported by two such generals as Tilly and Wallenstein, he might, probably, have succeeded in the temporary establishment of Popery and arbitrary power, had he met an opponent less able than the King of Sweden.

Christian of Denmark preceded Gustavus as the head of the Protestant League; but his measures were not crowned with success, and he concluded a peace in 1629 more advantageous to himself than to the allies who had sought his assistance.

On the 24th of June 1630, Gustavus entered Germany, and made himself master of Pomerania with a promptitude which prevented all resistance. Wallenstein, who alone, perhaps, could have coped with the Swedish hero, had been deprived of command by the intrigues of the Elector of Bavaria, and Tilly, who succeeded as general of the Imperialists, seemed to have lost all his former skill and energy, since the day that he sanctioned the cruel massacres of Magdeburg. The celebrated Cardinal Richelieu, who at this time directed the politics of France, felt convinced that it was the interest of his court to depress the overweening power of the house of Austria; and he therefore entered into a close alliance with Gustavus, granting him large annual subsidies to defray those expenses which a poor nation like Sweden was unable to support. At its first landing, the invading army did not exceed fifteen thousand men; but it was soon nearly trebled by the accession of the military adventurers, who had fought under the different partisan leaders, that had for several years maintained a desultory warfare in Germany.



Winter did not stop the exertions of the Swedish monarch. He had provided his soldiers with dresses of sheep-skin, which enabled them to despise the cold, while the Imperialists, more thinly clad, were forced to keep within their quarters. Another great advantage which the Swedes owed to their monarch was, that they were welcomed as saviours and protectors even by those opposed to their creed, while the indiscriminate rapacity and cruelty of the Imperialists made them equally hated by friends and foes. In only one instance did Gustavus depart from his strict rule of preventing pillage and useless slaughter, and that was when he took Frankfort-on-the-Oder by storm, and retaliated on its garrison Tilly's massacre of a Swedish detachment. It was soon after this that Tilly took Magdeburg, and inflicted on it such a dreadful scene of slaughter and rapine, that his name is remembered in that city to this hour with execration. In less than twelve hours, one of the finest cities in Germany was reduced to a heap of ruins, and all that remained standing of its noble edifices were two churches and a few private houses. It was remarked in that age, as well as in the present, that Tilly never enjoyed an hour's good fortune from the day he sanctioned the massacre of Magdeburg.

Great blame was very unjustly thrown upon Gustavus for not having raised the siege of Magdeburg. The fault lay not with him, but with the Protestant princes, who were jealous of the King of Sweden, and had actually formed a new league under the Elector of Saxony. This source of disunion would perhaps have been fatal, had Ferdinand's bigotry permitted him to temporize, or the Imperial generals adopted a less imperious tone. But Tilly, after the fall of Magdeburg, assumed the airs of a conqueror: he ravaged the Pro-

testant states that wished to remain neutral, and by his extravagant cruelties forced both the Landgrave of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony to throw themselves into the arms of the King of Sweden. On the 7th of September 1631 was fought the decisive battle of Leipsic, which may be said to have established both the Protestant religion and the liberties of Germany. The entire honours of the victory belonged to the Swedes, for the Saxons fled almost in the first encounter, and Gustavus alone routed the two Imperial generals, Pappenheim and Tilly, one after the other. Three months after the battle, Franconia, Suabia, the Upper Rhine, and even the Palatinate, were in the power of the conqueror.

With great reluctance Ferdinand found himself obliged to solicit the return of Wallestein to command; and this haughty leader demanded terms which rendered him virtually independent of the Emperor. Before he entered upon his office, Gustavus gained another great victory over the Imperialists, at the river Lech, in which Tilly was mortally wounded: he died in a few days, and thus escaped the disgrace of being forced to resign his command. Wallestein, after his appointment, exerted himself to detach the Elector of Saxony from the Protestant League, and was all but successful. He then advanced to besiege Nuremberg, which was protected by the Swedish army; but, instead of making any attempt to bring on an engagement, he entrenched himself strongly, waiting until famine would force the Swedes to quit their position. Gustavus was so rash as to attempt to storm the fortified camp of the Imperialists: he was defeated, and soon after both armies were forced to withdraw from want of provisions.

Wallestein directed his march towards Saxony, hoping

to force the Elector to relinquish the Swedish alliance ; but the ravages which he sanctioned completely alienated the Saxon Prince. Pressing messages were sent to Gustavus for aid, and, though he had good reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Elector, he instantly marched with all his forces to his relief. The armies met at Lutzen, Nov. 16, 1632 : the Imperialists were broken by the furious charge of the Swedish infantry, but Wallenstein exerted himself successfully to form his lines anew. At this moment Gustavus, galloping across the field to head a second charge, was recognized by a petty officer of the Imperialists, who immediately ordered a musketeer to take aim at him. The soldier fired, and the King's left arm was shattered. Gustavus at first declared it was nothing, and wished to head his squadrons, but, overcome by pain, he solicited the Duke of Lauenburg to lead him from the tumult. While they were retiring through the ranks of the disordered infantry, a second shot struck the gallant monarch in the back, and he fell to the earth. His charger flying through the ranks masterless and covered with blood, revealed their loss to the Swedish soldiers, but far from being discouraged by the calamity, they determined to avenge his death, and the desperation with which they fought bore down all opposition. Nine thousand of the Imperialists fell in the field or in the pursuit, but the loss of Gustavus was a greater injury to the Protestant cause than even the annihilation of the Imperial army could compensate.

There are few who have obtained the abused name of hero, whose characters will bear the test of such rigid scrutiny as that of Gustavus. He was almost adored by his own subjects, while his enemies granted him the unwilling tribute of respect. In his tent, he always

kept the celebrated treatise, by Grotius, "On the rights of war and peace," a work which defends the rights of nature against the injustice, and cruelty of its oppressors, and which we should therefore scarcely have expected to be the favourite companion of a conqueror. The most extraordinary compliment paid to his memory was the extravagant rejoicings by which the courts of Vienna and Madrid disgraced themselves on receiving the intelligence of his death. They returned thanks as if they had obtained a glorious victory, and thus paid involuntary tribute to the greatness of those abilities whose removal filled them with such delight.

### OLIVER CROMWELL.

BORN A. D. 1599—DIED 1658.

IN the history of Mohammed we saw an example of enthusiasm mingled with imposture, both so intimately combined that it was in most instances impossible to determine which had the most influence; but we could distinctly trace craft and cunning increasing with fortune, and the success of one fraud leading to another. Yet, though the impostor of Mecca knew that he was deluding others, we found him the victim of his own craft, imposing upon himself as he had imposed upon the world, and believing himself to be a prophet on the strength of his own repeated assertions. It would seem that such is the usual effect of fanaticism on a mind naturally powerful; it prompts to the labour of securing converts and partisans; when these are obtained, slowly it suggests the use of what is called "pious fraud," and this first downward step is irretrievable and fatal. There is true philosophy in the assertion of Lokman, "man is often a hypocrite to himself:" extraordinary as has

been the success of fanatic impostors in every age, their self-delusion is still more wonderful and unaccountable. Even they themselves seem to have had some suspicion of the mysterious delusion, for they have all been fatalists, all have advocated the sternest doctrines of predestination. The parallel between Mohammed and Cromwell has forcibly struck all who have compared the lives of both; they were alike sprung from the middle ranks of life, obscurity shaded the childhood and youth of both; their talents for business and valour in the field were equally conspicuous; the citizen of Huntingdon, like him of Mecca, commenced his career by austerity of life; in each instance power was obtained by judiciously taking advantage of circumstances; in neither did the fanaticism which first prompted to action become wholly extinct, even in the hour of death. Many writers have urged other points of similarity; we need not dwell on them, they only prove that human nature is the same in Arabia and England.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon; his family was respectable but not opulent, his connexions were chiefly in the first rank of gentry. It is said that he encountered many narrow escapes in infancy, but similar tales are related of every extraordinary personage. His progress in learning appears not to have been very great; his temper was stubborn, and unfitted to endure the rigid discipline then deemed necessary in education. Two remarkable anecdotes are related of his youth; the first is a dream, that a gigantic figure appeared to him at night, and predicted that he should be the greatest man in England; the second is, that acting a part in a play, in which he was to stumble over a crown, he added to his speech an extempore effusion of ambition. The dream we look upon as a real occurrence, like that

of Moham<sup>med</sup>'s night journey to heaven ; imagination embodied the thoughts of the waking man, and personified his hopes and his wishes. The circumstance of the play is confirmatory of this, for it shows that ambition had taken a strong hold of Cromwell's mind. A third, but more dubious anecdote, is that in the year 1604 Cromwell and his future victim Charles met at Hinchinbrooke-house ; the two boys quarrelled, and Cromwell struck the prince so violently that he drew blood.

At the University, and afterwards when a student at the Inns of Court, Cromwell led a very dissipated life, and totally neglected literary pursuits. He suddenly passed into the opposite extreme of ascetic severity, and having formed a matrimonial alliance with the ancient family of the Bouc<sup>h</sup>fi<sup>ers</sup>, retired to Huntingdon. In that town the principles of the Puritans, as those who dissented from the established Church called themselves, had made considerable progress, and Cromwell consequently gained great popularity by at once uniting himself to that party. For seven years he was distinguished as the patron of those ministers who refused submission to the forms and discipline of the Church, and were, therefore, called Non-conformists. Nor did he confine his exertions to seeking a relaxation of the penal statutes, or assisting them when threatened with prosecution ; he actually preached in support of their principles, and offered up prayers in public for their success.

In the year 1628 Cromwell was chosen the representative of the borough of Huntingdon in the third parliament of Charles I. He became soon a distinguished member of the opposition. His hostility to the King was partly caused by his having failed to obtain from

his Majesty a commission of lunacy against his maternal uncle; this iniquitous attempt highly provoked Cromwell's relations, but by his mother's interference a reconciliation was effected. He took an active part in the proceedings against Dr. Mainwaring, who had given offence to the House of Commons by some injudicious expressions in a sermon, and made a bitter complaint against Laud, then bishop of Winchester, for bestowing a living on that gentleman. After the dissolution of parliament, he retired into private life, and having succeeded to his uncle's estate, removed to the isle of Ely. The clergy of that diocese, either desirous to show that they were not influenced by political considerations, or anxious to secure his favour, renewed to him the leases of lands and tithes which his uncle had held, on very favourable terms. But retirement did not suit his active spirit; seeing that the cause of the Puritans had every appearance of being hopeless, he resolved to join the colonists, who were about to emigrate to North America. Lord Warwick had obtained a grant of land in New England, which he assigned to the most distinguished individuals in his own party; Cromwell, Rich, Pym, and Hampden, had taken shares in the new colony, and actually embarked with the design of quitting England for ever. Just, however, as the ships were on the point of sailing, they were detained by an order from the King, and all the passengers forced to return on shore. His Majesty had subsequently sufficient leisure to repent his indiscreet interference; for those whom he detained were foremost in urging forwards the civil war.

In the year 1640 the celebrated Long Parliament assembled, in which Cromwell took his seat as member for the borough of Cambridge. His hostility to the court was now greater than ever; though possessing

scanty oratorical powers, he took an active part in the debates, and atoned for his want of eloquence by his zeal and fervour. It is impossible to doubt that some fierce spirits already looked forward to the abolition of royalty, and the establishment of a republic; whether Cromwell entertained any such views may be questioned, but he sedulously laboured to hasten the moment when the matters in dispute between the king and parliament should be decided by the sword.

The causes of the Civil War cannot be discussed in our scanty page; it must suffice to say that there was not a clear case of right or of wrong on either side, and that there was a great deal of obstinacy and violence on both. Terms of accommodation might have been easily arranged up to nearly the last moment of the contest, if, either in the court or the parliament, there had been a majority of persons seriously anxious for the restoration of tranquillity. Charles showed himself too anxious to maintain the royal prerogative to an extent scarcely consistent with constitutional government; the parliament demanded privileges which would have left the sovereign nothing but idle pageant and an empty name. Cromwell was among the first to take arms in the service of the parliament; he raised a regiment among his friends in the country, and filled his ranks with those who had adopted his own wild and enthusiastic opinions. Over these men he exercised an influence that appeared almost preternatural; they submitted to a discipline even more severe than was usual at the period, and they never hesitated to encounter the most fearful odds at the command of their beloved leader. Never perhaps was so singular a body of men collected; each private became chaplain to his comrades when he pleased, and under the name of preaching



or praying, poured forth some incoherent rant which stimulated the imaginations of his audience, and which seems to have been equally unintelligible to the orator and his hearers.

Many military expeditions were undertaken by Cromwell before the war had been finally declared, and the King's standard erected; after that event his services appear for some time not to have attracted attention. But ere long the careful manner in which he had disciplined his cavalry, rendered the name of Cromwell's troopers formidable, and their conduct, at raising the siege of Gainsborough, rendered them equally dreaded for their valour and ferocity. Notwithstanding these exertions, the Royal cause prospered in the early part of the war, and had the King advanced towards London with all his forces, he would probably have been able to dictate terms to the Parliament. But he allowed the favourable opportunity to slip, and in the mean time the English Parliament formed a league with the Scottish, which gave their party an overwhelming superiority of force.

The circumstances under which the Reformation had been established in Scotland were 'unfortunately far from favourable. The country had been long disturbed by civil wars between rival barons; the lower orders were in a very uncivilized state, and the bad example of violence shown them by their superiors was too generally imitated. In such circumstances a religious revolution, supported and urged forward by the people in opposition to the government, was almost necessarily conducted with intemperate zeal. It was pushed to a lamentable extreme; the Presbyterian clergy became possessed of power almost equal to that exercised by the Romish priesthood in the darkest period of the middle

ages, and, imitating the papal model, claimed exemption from civil jurisdiction. The power thus assumed by the Presbytery was viewed with natural suspicion by the King, and from the time that James I. succeeded to the English crown, the chief object of his policy towards his native country was to re-establish the royal authority. It was an essential part of the monarch's plan to establish episcopacy in the Scottish church, but the difficulties which were to be overcome had not been duly estimated by the king and his ministers. The nobles who had seized the church-lands feared that they might be compelled to disgorge their ill-gotten plunder; the inferior clergy feared that a check would be given to the influence which their passionate appeals, for such their sermons were, had gained for them over their congregations, and the populace was animated by an intense hatred of popery, more indiscriminate than that of the English puritans, because it was almost wholly founded on ignorance and prejudice. Charles knew little of the state of Scotland; but surely we may pardon his ignorance of the fact that a surplice and a prayer-book would be regarded as essential marks of the church of Rome. The extraordinary fanaticism of the lower ranks in Scotland, the ambition of the Presbyterian ministers, the avarice of those who had grasped the ancient inheritance of the Church, and the factious spirit of the nobility, led to the signing of "The Solemn League and Covenant;" its professed object was to secure purity of religion, constitutional liberty, and the royal authority; its effect was to give all the powers of the State into the hands of a clerical faction, destitute of all experience and knowledge in the art of government. Cromwell at once hated the Presbyterian form of worship, and despised the folly of the Scottish clergy. He saw, how-

ever, that their aid was necessary to his designs, and signed the covenant without hesitation.

On the 19th of January 1643, the Scots crossed the border, and in conjunction with the Parliamentary forces under the Earl of Manchester, laid siege to York. The Royal army, commanded by Lord Newcastle and Prince Rupert, advanced to raise the siege, and thus brought on the decisive battle of Marston Moor. The circumstances of this engagement have been variously related, but the best authorities agree in declaring that Prince Rupert broke the wing to which he was opposed, but pursued his advantage too far; Cromwell had the same success in the opposite quarter, but instead of chasing the fugitives, he fell on the flank of the royal centre, and completely routed the entire line. Rupert, returning from his mad chase, found the battle irretrievably lost, for his wearied troopers could not be persuaded to make another charge. The effects of this battle were the total ruin of the Royal cause in the north of England, and the capture of York and Newcastle by the Parliamentary forces.

Success smiled for the last time on the arms of Charles in the south of England, where he gained some brilliant advantages over the Earl of Essex; but the Parliament, recalling their forces from the north, soon recovered their former superiority. At length the hostile armies met for a pitched battle at Newbury, in which Cromwell's cavalry gained great and merited honour. The result of the battle was not, however, decisive, probably because the Earl of Manchester, who commanded the Parliamentary forces, was, like many of the moderate party, unwilling to push the King to extremities.

Success, as is usual, showed that the parties who had combined against the King were held together by no

firm bond of union. The noblemen and the chief gentlemen who had combined against the court, sought merely such securities for constitutional freedom as were consistent with the safety of the monarchy: had they been contented to effect desirable changes gradually, they would have been entitled to the gratitude of posterity; but unfortunately they could not rest satisfied with the slow progress of improvement, and had to learn by experience the often repeated political lesson that over-violent remedies are fraught with worse evils than the disease they are intended to remove. "The marshes of Camarina," says an old historian, "were an eye-sore to its citizens, but when they drained off the waters, they found that in their rage for symmetry, they had unwittingly destroyed their best security: over the ground thus made firm the enemies marched into the citadel." In every state and in every constitution parallels may be found to the marshes of Camarina.

But a still more fatal error in the leaders of the Long Parliament was their fanatical hatred of episcopacy; it almost amounted to a species of insanity; their exertions to substitute an assembly of divines for a bench of bishops were far more like the efforts of madmen to gratify a favourite whim, than the labours of legislators to effect a constitutional change. They appealed in the fervour of their zeal from the great council of the realm to popular passions and prejudices; and by the most daring misrepresentations directed a part of the vulgar hatred of the Romish Church against the Church of England. They had soon the mortification to find that those who rouse democratic violence cannot rule the storm they have themselves raised; a fiercer party, Republicans in politics, and Independents in religion, turned the weapons of the Presbyterians against them-

selves, and triumphed as the most violent and unscrupulous have done and always will do in every case of civil dissension.

Two great obstacles stood in the way of the Republicans ; the political principles of the Scots, and the power of the English nobility. But the aid of the Scottish army was too valuable to be easily dismissed ; the latter was completely overthrown by the enactment of the celebrated Self-denying Ordinance. The object of this act was to disqualify members of both houses of Parliament from filling any office, whether military or civil, except a few in the latter department which were particularly specified. It at once deprived the peers of all power, while commoners had at least the privilege of choosing between their offices and their seats. A fortuitous combination of circumstances, improved with consummate art, enabled Cromwell to retain both. Before the day arrived on which the ordinance was to be enforced, he was sent with Waller to oppose the Royalists in the west of England ; on his return he was despatched to prevent the junction of the royal cavalry with the forces under the King ; and he next received a commission to protect the associated counties. When the time prescribed by the ordinance was nearly closed, Fairfax expressed his unwillingness to part with so experienced an officer in the present state of affairs ; and the two houses consented that he should remain forty days with the army. Before this interval had expired, the great battle of Naseby was fought, and in respect for the courage and capacity which had contributed so greatly to the fortunes of that day, the ordinance was again suspended in his favour for three months, and ever afterwards this indulgence was renewed as necessity was thought to require it.

The total defeat of the royal forces at Naseby was followed by the reduction of the southern counties, and the unhappy monarch, unable any longer to keep the field, resolved to surrender himself to his Scottish subjects, who had from the beginning of the war professed a devoted personal attachment to their national sovereign. Never perhaps did a circumstance occur which placed all parties in a more embarrassing position; the Independents, of whom Cromwell was the head, hoped, by protracting the war, gradually to acquire superiority over the Presbyterian party; the Presbyterians, hating Episcopacy on the one hand, and dreading the Independents on the other, did not know how to use their victory; the Scots, enslaved by their fanatical preachers, and yet attached to the person of the King, were uncertain whether they ought to prefer the covenant or the monarch; Charles himself had committed the fatal error of making himself a prisoner at a distance from London, where alone his influence could avail. Amid all these dangers and perplexities, Cromwell alone pursued a steady course of policy, and thus was enabled to turn the vacillation of his enemies to his own advantage.

The firmness with which Charles rejected the proposals for modelling the church on the Presbyterian plan, lost him the affection of the Scots, and induced the leaders of the Scottish army to sell their royal captive to the English parliament. Equal displeasure was felt by the Parliamentary leaders, who hoped by an alliance with the King to render themselves at once superior to the Independents and the army. From the time that the King was brought as a prisoner to Holdenby-house, the contest between Royalty and Parliament was at an end, and a new struggle commenced

between the two great elements of the popular party. One of the first measures contemplated by the Parliament was the dismissal of a great part of the army ; but Cromwell anticipated their design : he persuaded the soldiers to demand their arrears, and to elect a military parliament, composed of officers from each regiment, to watch over their interests. But while thus organizing a formidable opposition out of doors, the crafty General regularly attended in his place in the-house, and took part in the ordinary debates. Finding, however, that his designs began to be suspected, he sent a party of soldiers to seize the King, knowing that the possession of his person would give the army a complete superiority over the parliament.

Cromwell's next step was to bring the army close to London, under the pretence that the deliberations of the Parliament were overawed by the citizens. No sooner was this effected, than the superiority of the Independents became manifest ; the Scots and Presbyterians soon discovered the dangers of their position, and pushed forward their negotiations with the King more zealously and honestly than before. Cromwell and his friends secretly commenced a separate treaty, and Charles, finding himself courted by both parties, began to look forward to the perfect restitution of the Royal authority. His abilities, however, though considerable, were not equal to the crisis ; Cromwell soon discovered that the King preferred the offers of the Presbyterian party, and from that moment became determined on his destruction. By a series of artifices Charles was persuaded to quit Hampton Court, and seek an asylum in the Isle of Wight, where he was kept in close custody by Hammond, one of Cromwell's most devoted adherents. The great body of the nation had now become weary of

military tyranny ; insurrections in favour of the King took place in many different parts of the country, and a Scottish army, under the Duke of Hamilton, entered England to support the Royal authority. But these desultory efforts were speedily crushed by the prompt exertions of the Lieutenant-General, and tranquillity was restored for a season.

While the army was absent in the north, the Presbyterian party, recovering their courage, resumed again their negotiations with the King. This gave so much displeasure to the military agitators, that they seized the leaders of the opposite party, intimidated the remainder so as to repel them from their duty, and thus obtained a complete command over the deliberations of parliament. Cromwell himself used to say, " he had not been made acquainted with the design ; yet that since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it." This, however, was a mean subterfuge, for he had long previously suggested to his creatures the expediency of making an attack on the parliament. " These fellows," said he to Ludlow, " will never leave until the army pulls them out by the ears." This proceeding was but a preliminary to the fearful tragedy of the King's trial and execution, for the council of officers had some time before secretly determined that the monarchy of England should be for a time extinguished in the blood of the sovereign. Yet there is reason to believe that Cromwell consented to this atrocity with great reluctance ; in his former negotiations with Charles, he had shown an earnest desire to restore the monarch on terms that were neither harsh nor illiberal. The Levellers, a party more ferocious than the other Republicans, denounced him for his partiality to the King, and some of the regiments went so far as to mutiny in the



field. It is said that he shot one of the ring-leaders with his own hand—it is certain that his bold and instant action was the sole reason why the mutiny failed. But when once Cromwell felt convinced that the King favoured the Presbyterians, he regarded the destruction of the monarch essential to his advancement, perhaps to his personal safety, and he urged it forward by every means that craft could suggest or violence execute.

In the House of Commons, thinned as it had been by military force, and overawed by the presence of the army, it was easy to procure a vote for bringing the King to trial; but the Lords showed at least the semblance of independence. They unanimously, and almost without debate, refused their concurrence; they then adjourned for ten days, hoping that the fury of the Commons would abate in the interval. But the Republicans had gone too far to recede; by a new vote they virtually abolished the House of Peers, and unanimously repeated the ordinance for the immediate trial of the King. On this occasion, Cromwell made a speech, which may be regarded as one of the greatest examples of audacious hypocrisy. "Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said he, "to bring the King to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels; though I am not prepared to give any advice on this important occasion. Even I myself," he subjoined, "when I was lately offering up prayers for his Majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and I considered this preternatural movement as the answer which Heaven, having rejected the King, had returned to my supplications."

The trial and execution of the King, his noble con-

stancy before the pretended High Court of Justice, and the Christian fortitude with which he submitted to its iniquitous sentence, are recorded in every English history. During the entire period, Cromwell tried to hide the perturbation of his mind under an affectation of levity, that degenerated into downright buffoonery. He even viewed his royal victim in his coffin, and put his finger to the neck to discover whether the head had been completely severed. But though mirth might impose on others, it could not calm the agonies of conscience; peace was from this time a stranger to his soul; he went always armed, dreading that some royalist should slay him as a regicide, or some republican as an ambitious tyrant.

A Council of State was appointed to administer the affairs of government, but scarcely was it instituted, when the Levellers determined on alterations still more alarming. They resolved to have an equal distribution of property, and to abolish every thing like legal authority. The promptitude of Cromwell disconcerted their measures; he attacked the mutineers when his approach was least suspected, took the greater part prisoners, and punished the leading agitators with military execution.

The affairs of Ireland had long continued in the most distracted condition. Three parties equally hostile to the English parliament, but still more fiercely opposed to each other, distracted the unhappy island. The Royalists, under the command of the Earl of Ormond, the Catholic Lords of the Pale, and the Ulster army of native Irish, knew that union would enable them to obtain a speedy triumph, but unfortunately the Papal Nuncio intrigued successfully to prevent a cordial co-operation, hoping to obtain the country for some Romish

prince. Most of the lords of the Pale and all the Protestant Royalists were opposed to this project, but they were at issue on the amount of authority to be entrusted to the King's Lieutenant. In consequence of these insane disputes, Cromwell with a mere handful of men conquered the whole island, and shared the best part of it among his soldiers. The first enterprize which Cromwell undertook after his arrival in Ireland was the siege of Drogheda; he took the town by storm, and ruthlessly massacred the greater part of the garrison; those who survived were reserved for a fate worse than death, being sold as slaves to the plantations. Various excuses have been made for this act of atrocious cruelty; two alone are worthy of observation. It was said to be an act of retaliation for the excesses committed in some parts of Ulster by the Irish insurgents in 1641; to this the answer is easy, the garrison of Drogheda consisted principally of Englishmen, and the remainder belonged to the army of the associated Catholics of Munster, to whose charge no act of cruelty has ever been laid. The second plea is, that he wished by this extraordinary severity to discourage others from making opposition, and this we believe to have been his real motive; but how can such a barbarous policy be reconciled with humanity, or the principles of international law? Similar cruelties were exercised in Wexford, and yet when Cromwell summoned the town of Ross, he wrote to the governor, "Sir, since my coming to Ireland, I have this witness for myself, that I have endeavoured to avoid effusion of blood!" The preamble of the act passed by the Republicans for the pacification of Ireland, absolutely stated, "that it was not the intention of parliament to extirpate the whole Irish nation!"\* Having made Ire-

land, "a desert and called it peace," Cromwell returned to England, where the proceedings of the Scottish nation had excited general alarm.

The murder of the king filled the Scotch with indignation, the more fierce, because they had been deceived into something very like a participation in the guilt. Both Presbyterians and Royalists joined in requesting the young king Charles II. to come over and claim the inheritance of his ancestors. On his arrival he was enthusiastically welcomed by the great body of the nation, but unfortunately the fanatical preachers interfered to prevent the advantages which might have been derived from this effusion of loyalty. These deluded men, more anxious to preserve their own abused authority, than to provide for the safety of the nation, removed from the court and army all who were personally attached to the monarch, and declared that they would have the aid of none that were not devoted adherents of the Covenant. The approach of Cromwell, far from recalling them to their senses, appeared only to have aggravated their arrogance and fanaticism; several of the preachers accepted commissions as majors and captains, and went about brandishing their bibles and their swords together, declaring that they were inspired to predict the overthrow of all who opposed the covenant.

General Lesley, who commanded the Scottish forces, was an able and experienced officer, able to compete with Cromwell; he soon compelled his antagonist to retire, and cooped him up in Dunbar, so that he could neither fight nor fly without exposing himself to be attacked at a disadvantage. The sectarian preachers, however, were weary of Lesley's dilatory policy, they forced him to quit his advantageous position on the heights, and attack Cromwell on the plain. This gave

the English general the opportunity he had so earnestly desired ; he attacked the Scotch and gained a decisive victory almost without loss. To complete the folly of their proceedings, the Scottish divines issued a curious proclamation, purporting to state the causes of their late defeat, among which we find the delinquencies of the Royal family, and the presence of malignants in the army, duly commemorated. Cromwell pushed forward his success, and before the campaign closed he was master of every place of importance in the southern counties of Scotland. Yet if the fanatical party had abated some portion of their violence, there would have been still a chance for victory ; but their fury seemed to be aggravated by misfortune, and they daily sent away the recruits who offered to join the king, if they suspected them of malignancy, that is, of disliking the Covenant.

When the next campaign opened, Charles, weary of the defeats which his supporters everywhere met, and of the folly which prevented him from improving his situation, adopted the bold course of marching into England. But the fanatics accompanied him across the borders, and daily drove away those recruits who differed from them in religious views. From these and other circumstances, the young king received very little accession of strength, and when forced to halt at Worcester, his army was scarcely more numerous than when he left Scotland. In this city Cromwell overtook the fugitives, and completely destroyed the Royal army ; Charles with great difficulty made his escape, and after a series of romantic adventures, at length reached France in safety.

Cromwell treated the Scotch and English prisoners in the same infamous way that he had lately used the Irish ; he sold them as slaves to the plantations ; several noblemen and gentlemen were publicly executed, and amongst

others the gallant Earl of Derby, who had surrendered on assurance of quarter. From this time forward Cromwell may be regarded as the virtual sovereign of England, for there was no one who dared to dispute his authority. In the mean time Scotland was completely reduced by General Monk, and the power of the assembly of divines completely broken.

The contest between the Parliament and the Council of Officers was soon renewed with more than its former violence; but the Parliament completely lost the confidence of the people by their manifest determination to retain their power, and prevent the free election of a new parliament. Cromwell at length went down to the house, and having grossly insulted the leading members, ordered a body of soldiers to clear the house, and then took away the mace and the keys to his lodgings at Whitehall. This violence was not displeasing to the great body of the nation; indeed for various reasons it gave pleasure to almost every party; the Royalists believed that it was a preliminary to the king's restoration; the moderate Presbyterians hoped for a free Parliament; while the wilder fanatics believed that the time was come for establishing a theocracy on the Jewish model, which they vaguely designated "the reign of the saints upon earth." The ambitious general had no intention of gratifying any of these parties; but deeming it right to amuse the people with some show of constitutional government, he resolved to nominate one hundred and fifty persons as representatives of the English nation. This novel mode of election was represented by the fanatics as a positive call from heaven, and there were only two persons who refused to obey the unusual summons. The proceedings of this extraordinary assembly were such a gross mockery of religion, that we

will not venture to describe them. They were visionary and impracticable, and probably Cromwell wished them to be so, for the purpose of bringing Parliament into disrepute. But the Protector soon found that these fanatics were very unmanageable instruments; he persuaded about forty of the body to go through the form of resigning their authority into his hands, and then sent a body of musketeers to turn the rest out of doors as unceremoniously as their predecessors. Four days after this second dissolution of Parliament, he was solemnly installed in Westminster Hall as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Ireland, and Scotland.

Cromwell was now a king in everything but the name; he possessed a more despotic authority than any sovereign of England had wielded since the Norman conquest; all the outward forms of reverence used in the courts of legitimate sovereigns were conceded to the Lord Protector, and he formally took possession of the royal palace. But amid all these splendours he felt that his peace of mind was wrecked for ever; he constantly dreaded the vengeance of the Republicans whom he had deceived and betrayed, and he found them more bitter enemies than the Royalists whom he had subdued. If a vigorous administration could atone for a defective title, the English people would have had every reason to be gratified with the government of Cromwell. His fleets triumphed over the Dutch; his remonstrances checked the persecutions of the Waldenses in Piedmont, and dread of his power rendered the name of Englishman as respected in Europe as that of Roman had once been. It was perhaps the pride which the consciousness of this preeminence diffused through the nation that frustrated the various attempts made both by Royalists and Republicans against the Protector; when he dis-

missed his third parliament, no remonstrance was heard against the illegal proceeding; and the Royalist insurrection of Penruddock and Groves was suppressed by a single troop of cavalry. Cromwell was anxious to take the title of king, and procured one of his servile parliaments to present an address requesting him to do so; but the fierce opposition of his old military supporters soon showed him that this was a proceeding too hazardous to be attempted.

From the moment that his fondest wishes were disappointed, a gloomy change was wrought in the character of Cromwell; he became stern, morose, and inexorably severe to all who were detected plotting against his government. Nor were his fears altogether without foundation; plots for his destruction were formed in every direction, and to escape them, he wore secret armour, carried loaded pistols in his pockets; changed his bed-room two or three times in the week; and when he rode out concealed from his servants the places whither he was going, and the time of his return. A remarkable pamphlet, published in Holland, with the terrific title "*Killings no murder*," not only recommended his assassination, but declared that measures had been devised for its accomplishment. The writer, Colonel Titus, a stern Republican, asserts that "the Protector's own muster-roll contains the names of those who aspire to the honour of delivering their country; that his Highness is not secure at his table or in his bed; that death is at his heels wherever he moves, and that though his head reaches the clouds, he shall perish like smoke, and they that have seen him shall exclaim—Where is he?" Cromwell read this spirited but dangerous production, and was never seen to smile again. Disquiet arose in the bosom of his own fa-



mily; his favourite daughter was secretly attached to the Royal cause, and it is said that on her death-bed she severely reproached her father with the crimes that led to his elevation. Mental agony soon broke down Cromwell's iron frame; he expired on the 3rd of September 1658, in the 60th year of his age. His funeral was conducted with more than royal expense and magnificence, and he was interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster. After the restoration, the body was taken up, and useless insults offered to the senseless carcase, which reflected very little credit on the perpetrators.

### PETER THE GREAT, EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

BORN A. D. 1672—DIED A. D. 1725.

THE progress of civilization in Russia was so slow, that it was not until the reign of Alexis that any effort was made to organize a regular form of government. That monarch endeavoured to reform the military constitution by inviting foreign generals to enter his service, and at the same time he made some attempts to establish a navy on the Black Sea and the Caspian. His barbarous subjects, however, opposed all these improvements as innovations, and the Tzar was obliged to leave the greater part of his plans unaccomplished. He had, however, the merit of preparing the way for the vast alterations subsequently effected by his illustrious son Peter.

Alexis, on his death in 1677, was succeeded by his eldest son Theodore, a feeble prince, during whose reign the entire authority of the state was usurped by his ambitious sister Sophia and her creature Prince Galitzin. After the death of Theodore in 1682, Sophia,

aided by the Strelitzes, a Russian standing army, similar to the Janissaries of Turkey, and the Prætorian guards of ancient Rome, contrived to have herself proclaimed Regent of the empire, for John, the next heir, was an idiot, and Peter only a child. With studied cruelty the Regent and her minion deprived Peter of the advantages of education, and dreading the independent spirit which he manifested as he approached manhood, made more than one attempt to procure his assassination. But the boyars, or nobles, who favoured Peter, took up arms, and being joined by a large body of the soldiery, took severe vengeance on the inferior conspirators; Sophia was confined in a convent, and Galitzin exiled to Siberia. Peter thus became in reality the sovereign of Russia, for his brother John was incapable of any act of government; the remainder of his life was spent in retirement, and his death, which happened in 1696, scarcely attracted any notice. The first object which claimed the attention of the young monarch was the formation of a navy, and though he had a constitutional antipathy to the sea, he not only overcame it, but made several voyages in trading vessels to acquire a practical knowledge of navigation. Aided by Le Fort, a foreigner possessing some information and great talents, Peter began to plan reforms in the army; he formed a regiment of the young boyars, who were armed and disciplined according to the most approved system of European tactics; and he compelled these nobles to follow his own example of entering in the ranks, and rising through the successive grades to the dignity of commissioned officers. In a short time the young monarch found himself at the head of a little army of five thousand men, which rendered him independent of the turbulent Strelitzes. Influenced by the advice of the excellent Le Fort, Peter

also applied himself diligently to the reformation of the finances, and what was ultimately of equal importance, he took into his service the celebrated Menzikoff, whose merits Lé Fort had discovered when the future minister was but the servant of a pastry-cook. The effects of the judicious improvements made by the Tzar were attested by the capture of Azoph, a city which both secured his dominions and afforded him facilities for establishing a navy in the Black Sea.

But the success of this enterprize did not atone to the bigoted Russians, and more especially the officers of the Strelitzes, for the changes which the Tzar was making in their ancient usages. A horrible conspiracy was formed for the murder of the sovereign, but it was fortunately disclosed by one of the accomplices on the very night appointed for putting it into execution. The severe punishment inflicted on the guilty for a long time deterred others from making any similar attempts. His late victory convinced the Tzar how much the nations of western Europe surpassed his barbarous subjects, and he resolved to prepare himself for further improvements by foreign travel. For this purpose he went to Holland, where he laboured as a common artisan in the dock-yard, and forced his suite to follow his example, in order that they might become practically acquainted with naval architecture. He next visited England, where he succeeded in procuring some eminent men of science, and many able artisans, to remove to Russia, and aid him in civilizing his subjects. After quitting England he proceeded to Vienna, and would have visited Italy, had he not been recalled to his own dominions by intelligence of a plot that had been discovered in his absence.

On his return to Russia, Peter punished the conspi-

rators with inhuman severity, and is said to have felt a barbarous pleasure in witnessing executions. But he soon directed his attention to more worthy objects, and began to put into execution some of the mighty projects which his travels had suggested. "Ships, colonies, and commerce" were the great object of his labours, but he encountered great difficulties in making his subjects acquainted with the value of such possessions. He removed, however, the most formidable impediment to his exertions, by breaking up the Strelitzes and distributing this formidable body into different regiments. The clergy indeed continued to preach and remonstrate against his innovations, but the Greek church had never the same influence over the popular mind as the Romish, and Peter terrified most of his priestly opponents into silence.

Anxious to gain an establishment on the Baltic, the Tzar entered into alliance with Poland and Denmark against the young King of Sweden, whom he little suspected of possessing the eminent abilities which he subsequently displayed. Charles XII., though a young man and a young monarch, was not daunted by the formidable coalition; he attacked his nearest enemies, the Danes, with great intrepidity, and forced them to save their capital from destruction by the payment of a large ransom. In six weeks the king of Denmark was forced to beg a peace on very humiliating conditions. The king of Poland was soon after forced to raise the siege of Riga, and Charles was thus enabled to direct his entire force against his Russian rival.

Peter's first military operation was the siege of Narva, before which he sat down with an army of about fifty thousand men, badly armed and worse disciplined. Charles, at the head of only nine thousand men, did not

hesitate to encounter this vast superiority of forces in their very intrenchments; but his men were hardy veterans, and there was scarcely a private in his army that did not possess as much military knowledge as the Tzar's most experienced officers. The Russians were completely defeated; their camp stormed, and all their artillery taken; but Peter was not dismayed by the calamity; on receiving the intelligence, he observed, "I know that the Swedes will for some time have the advantage over us, but they will teach us at length to beat them." Charles, instead of following up his victory, proceeded to gather useless laurels by invading Poland while his rival devoted himself to strengthening the resources of Russia, and was rewarded by seeing his soldiers gain some advantages over the Swedish detachments which the king had left behind. These advantages were indeed trifling in themselves, but they were gratifying omens of future success. Among these petty triumphs, the capture of Marienburgh deserves to be mentioned, on account of the remarkable person that was then made prisoner. Among the captives was a young woman whose mild and modest manners attracted the notice of General Bauer; he took her into his service, from whence she was subsequently transferred to the household of Prince Menzikoff; here she soon attracted the notice of the Tzar, who was married to her at first privately, but afterwards in public. She ascended the throne of Russia after her husband's death, and thus the captive of Marienburgh became mistress of an empire.

While Peter was rapidly extending his conquests over the north-eastern provinces of Sweden, and building a new city destined ere long to become the capital of his empire, Charles was devoting his attention to the affairs

of Poland, where he procured the deposition of king Augustus, and the election of his friend Stanislaus Leczinsky to the vacant throne. He even laughed at the accounts he received of the foundation and rapid progress of St. Petersburg, threatening that he would at his first moment of leisure destroy the whole of Peter's labours. Having made himself master of the greater part of Courland, the Tzar marched to aid his ally Augustus, who was closely pressed by the Swedish monarch. But Augustus proved himself unworthy of such assistance; to save his hereditary dominions of Saxony, he agreed to resign the crown of Poland, to break off his alliance with the Tzar, and contrary to the law of nations, to deliver up Patkul the Russian ambassador to the Swedish monarch, who claimed him as a revolted subject. The judicial murder of Patkul excited general indignation throughout Europe, and prevented the different monarchs from evincing any sympathy for the humiliations which Augustus was forced to endure from the imperious Charles.

The king of Sweden, enraged at the encouragement which Peter gave to the Poles, who refused obedience to his creature Stanislaus, determined to invade Russia, and dictate the terms of peace in Moscow. Aware of the superior military skill of the Swedes, and also of the impetuous character of their monarch, Peter resolved not to hazard a battle, but to retreat before the invaders until he had enticed them into the heart of the country, at a distance from their resources, where they could not procure provisions. Charles readily fell into the snare, and pushed forward almost to Smolensko, finding his difficulties increase at every step. He soon after received an invitation from Mazeppa, the Hetman, or chief of the Cossacks, who had resolved to revolt against

Peter, in consequence of some real or fancied insult, and immediately directed his march towards the Ukraine. Never was there any course more unfortunate than that which Charles adopted ; his geheral, Lewenhaupt, who followed the rapid steps of the king at a slower pace, was surrounded by the Russians, and all the baggage, stores, and provisions, which he escorted, were taken. Mazeppa's subjects refused to participate in his revolt, and he appeared in the Swedish camp as a fugitive rather than an ally. A severe winter reduced the invaders to the greatest extremities ; cold and famine subdued the strength of the Swedish warriors, and they perished by hundreds. But these calamities produced little effect on the stern mind of Charles ; with senseless obstinacy he persevered in remaining in the Ukraine, fully persuaded that in his next campaign he would make himself master of Moscow.

The Swedish monarch opened the next campaign with the siege of Pultowa, which made a more obstinate resistance than he anticipated. Peter in the mean time assembled a powerful army, which his long and laborious exertions had brought to an effective state of discipline, and resolved to hazard a decisive engagement. Though his forces were nearly three times as numerous as those at the disposal of his enemy, the Tzar took as many precautions as if his were the inferior forces. Nothing was left to chance, and the complete victory which the Russians gained, after a very brief fight, was chiefly owing to the prudent dispositions of their sovereign. Charles, after the total loss of his army, sought refuge in Turkey, where his subsequent adventures resemble rather the story of some hero of romance than the history of a real personage. Peter treated the Swedish officers with great kindness ; but he sent all his

prisoners of inferior rank to the wilds of Siberia, where their labours soon converted the savage deserts into well-cultivated fields.

The effects of the battle of Pultowa were felt in every part of Europe; the Poles restored Augustus to the throne; the Danes and Prussians prepared to deprive Sweden of the provinces that Gustavus Adolphus had acquired, and Peter pushed forward his conquests in Finland. Charles, however, had in the mean time alarmed the Turks with the increasing power of Russia, and induced the court of Constantinople to issue a declaration of war. The Tzar made hasty preparations for this new war, and having completed his arrangements, hastened to the southern frontier accompanied by the Empress Catherine. Unfortunately, relying on the promises made to him by the Hospodar of Wallachia, as Charles did on those of Mazeppa, Peter committed the very same error as his rival, and pushed rapidly forward into a desert country at a distance from his resources. At length, on reaching the banks of the Pruth, he unexpectedly found himself in the presence of the vastly superior forces of the Turks, while the Tartars of the Crimea harassed his rear. During three days and three nights the Russians bravely resisted all the attempts made to storm their camp, but on the fourth morning their ammunition was exhausted, and there seemed no alternative between a disgraceful surrender, and a hopeless attempt to retreat. Under these circumstances, the Empress Catherine sent all her jewels by a faithful emissary as a present to the Turkish vizier, and having thus conciliated his favour, she prevailed upon him to consent to a treaty. The terms were not on the whole severe; that which pained the Tzar most was the surrender of Azoph, and the



consequent disappointment of his plans for establishing a navy in the Black Sea. Nothing could exceed the rage of the king of Sweden when he heard that the Vizier had concluded a treaty, but the haughty Turk treated his angry remonstrances with disdain.

Undismayed by his late failure, Peter renewed his exertions in Finland, and gained several important advantages over the Swedes. A naval victory was among them, and was the triumph with which he was most justly gratified, because he was justly regarded as the creator of the Russian navy. Magnificent rejoicings in the new capital at once showed the delight of the emperor and the satisfaction of his subjects: but these pleasures were clouded by the perverse conduct of the Tzarovitz Alexis, who began to show a marked hostility to his father, and his father's policy. The ill conduct of this unfortunate prince is said to have accelerated the death of his wife; she died after having given birth to a son who subsequently ruled Russia under the title of Peter II. But neither wars nor festivities diverted Peter's mind from his great object, the improvement of his kingdom; the rapid rise of his new capital was at once a proof of the wisdom that had dictated the plan, and the energies that were devoted to its accomplishment.

While the Tzar was enjoying the festivities of St. Petersburg, Charles XII., after having exhibited the most frantic freaks in Turkey, returned to his own dominions, and as if he had not already a sufficient number of enemies, quarrelled with the king of Prussia. He was closely besieged in Stralsund, but he secretly escaped before the town surrendered. The power of Sweden, however, was now so broken, that Peter ventured to make a second tour through Europe without

waiting for the termination of the war. He visited Holland, where he renewed his acquaintance with his old fellow-workmen; from thence he proceeded to Paris, where he secured the aid of several men of great knowledge and talent in further extending the civilization of Russia; finally he returned home through Prussia, where he was hospitably entertained. After his return, he surprised all Europe by bringing his son Alexis to a public trial for treason; the emperor appeared as the accuser of the unhappy prince before the great council of his realms, and as Alexis did not deny his guilt, sentence of forfeiture and death was pronounced against him. Alexis did not long survive his condemnation, but whether he died by disease or violence is uncertain.

Charles, after his escape from Stralsund, had taken into his confidence an adventurer named Goertz, the most crafty and daring political intriguer that Europe perhaps ever saw. He planned a vast scheme for altering the condition of almost every country in Christendom; but the first great object he proposed was the elevation of the Pretender to the throne of Britain, which was to be effected by the joint forces of Russia and Sweden. But while these negotiations were in progress, Charles was killed at the siege of a petty fortress in Norway, and Peter pushed on the war against Sweden so forcibly, that the Regency was glad to accept of peace on any terms he pleased to dictate. By the articles of the treaty, Peter was permitted to retain possession of all his conquests, which included the fine provinces that surround the gulf of Finland. The Russians had now learned to value the character of their monarch; the whole nation joined enthusiastically in the festivals and rejoicings by which the peace with Sweden was celebrated, and the senate resolved to confer

upon their Tzar the new titles of Emperor of all the Russias and Father of his country.

The surrender of Azoph, according to the articles of peace with Turkey, deprived Peter of the opportunities he sought of establishing a navy in the Black Sea; he now resolved to direct his attention to the Caspian, and he invaded the Persian provinces that border this inland sea; but the expedition was not very successful, and its chief results were the direction of the attention of the Russians to the importance of the Caspian, and the formation of an alliance with some of the Tartar tribes. Soon after his return, he celebrated the coronation of the Empress Catherine with extraordinary magnificence, and instituted a new order of knighthood on the occasion. Scarcely, however, were the festivities concluded, when the emperor was seized with a painful disease, from which he was slowly recovering, when his exertions to save some drowning persons, brought on a relapse. Some malicious slanderers have insinuated that his death was accelerated by the empress, but never was a slander circulated more destitute of foundation or probability.

The elevation of Russia from a barbarous nation, whose name was scarcely known, to the first rank of European states, was the result of the emperor Peter's labours, and such a stupendous work may well excuse some defects in his character, especially as his most glaring errors must fairly be attributed to his defective education, and the circumstances under which he found his country.

## NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

BORN A. D. 1769 — DIED A. D. 1821.

HISTORY records no event whose importance equals that of the French Revolution, and few that have been the subject of such keen and violent discussion. Its causes, its consequences, even many of the simple facts that occurred in its progress, are to this hour matters of hot and eager dispute; nor is this to be remedied while many of those who shared in the transaction still live, and while the stormy impulse given by that awful outbreak continues to be felt in every part of Europe. If it were consistent with the plan of this little work, we should gladly avoid touching upon such dangerous ground, and we shall pass over the irritating topics as lightly and as briefly as may be consistent with perspicuity. About the middle of the last century the government of France was a moral anomaly in Europe; the clergy neglected the duties of their holy profession, and degraded religion into the mummery of idle forms and superstitious ceremonies; the nobles possessed oppressive privileges, and exercised them to the utmost; the administration of justice was corrupted at its source; the criminal laws were unjustly constituted, and worse administered. Profligacy prepared the way for the spread of infidelity, and consequent anarchy; the press teemed with libels on all religion natural and revealed; speculative treatises on "the rights of man" appeared in spite of every restriction, inculcating principles subversive of all good government. The hapless sovereign who ascended the throne at this crisis, possessed many virtues, but only a small share of abilities; he found that the evils which were accumulating for

centuries, had nearly reached their consummation, and before he could make any effective exertions for their remedy or removal, the exhausted state of the French exchequer, and the disordered state of the finances, precipitated a revolution. The king convoked the States General, and found himself instantly deprived of power by a fierce democratic party. All the constitutional privileges of the crown were rapidly abolished, and at length the king was made prisoner by a ferocious mob in his own capital. His degradation, trial, and judicial murder, soon followed, for in such circumstances there are but few steps for a deposed monarch between his prison and his grave.

Among the crowd that witnessed the outrages offered to the unhappy monarch, was a young man destined at no very distant period to reap the advantages of all the crimes he saw perpetrated; this was Napoleon Buonaparte, a young Corsican, who had come to Paris in search of employment. The circumstances related of Napoleon's early life are few, and not very interesting. He was placed by his father at the military school of Brienne, where he was remarked for his zealous pursuit of mathematical and historical studies, and a stern obstinacy of temper which distinguished him through life. From Brienne he was removed to the Royal Military College of Paris, where his ardent devotion to study, and his rapid progress in knowledge, soon procured him honourable distinction. At the early age of sixteen he obtained a lieutenant's commission in a regiment of artillery, and at the commencement of the revolution in 1792, he held the commission of captain, unattached. He witnessed with great disgust the excesses of the Parisian mob, but as yet was only a spectator of the political drama. Soon afterwards he served against

Paoli in Corsica, but the patriot general being aided by the English, Napoleon soon was forced to return to France. His next service was more important and more honourable; he was appointed to command the artillery employed in the siege of Toulon, and though controlled by the ignorant deputies whom the National Convention had entrusted with the chief command, he succeeded in forcing the English garrison to evacuate that important town.

After the recovery of Toulon, Napoleon was employed in Italy as Chief of Battalion, and performed many eminent services, but as he was suspected of being attached to the party of Robespierre, he remained for some time neglected after the downfall of that execrable miscreant. He was at length appointed to command a brigade of artillery in Holland, but before he departed for his post, he was employed in the more important but less honourable task of rescuing the French Convention from the just vengeance of an irritated nation. His services on this occasion were rewarded with the command of the army of the interior, which he soon brought from a state of total disorder into an efficient and formidable condition. About the same time he was united to Josephine Beauharnois, a beautiful and amiable woman, his subsequent treatment of whom was one of the worst blots on his character. Through the influence which this accomplished lady possessed, Napoleon, at the early age of twenty-six, was appointed to the command of the army in Italy, and his first measures worked a complete revolution in the whole art of war. The battle of Monte Notte was the first of his fields, and the distinguished success which he obtained over the Austrians at once established the superiority of his tactics. In less than a month the youthful general had gained three brilliant

victories over armies superior to his own, utterly destroyed the king of Sardinia's forces, and compelled him to sign a humiliating treaty at Cherasco, and opened for his army a passage into the rich plains of Lombardy. He crossed the Po at a place where he was not expected, but the Austrian general took up a new position behind the Adda. The old bridge of Lodi was the scene of one of the most brilliant actions during the war; the French, headed by their heroic leader, forced a passage across the bridge in the teeth of the enemies' batteries, and bayoneted the artillerymen at their guns. The consequences of this victory were the immediate conquest of Cremona and Mantua, and the almost complete subjugation of Lombardy. Napoleon levied severe contributions on the Italian States, and sent some of the choicest specimens of art to Paris as trophies of his victories.

While the French general was thus taking advantage of his success, the Austrian government recalled Beaulieu, whose career had been so unfortunate, and sent in his place General Wurmser, with a force more than double that which Napoleon commanded. Wurmser committed the fatal blunder of dividing his forces into three bodies, which advanced by separate roads, and he thus afforded his watchful enemy an opportunity of nearly annihilating the division under Quasdonowich before any assistance could be given by the others. Nor was Wurmser himself more fortunate; he was wholly defeated at Lonato and Castiglione, and the only result of a campaign, in which he lost forty thousand men, was that he was enabled to relieve and reinforce the garrison of Mantua. A second army was entrusted to Wurmser by the Austrian government; again he divided his forces, and again he had the mortification of

finding them shattered in detail at Roveredo and Bassano. His last resource was to throw himself into Mantua, and endeavour to maintain the defence of that city until Austria could send a new army to his relief. Alvinzi was sent to redeem the errors of Wurmser; he encountered the French at Arcola; and after three days of desperate fighting, was completely defeated. A fifth army was sent by the undaunted court of Austria, but it shared the fate of its predecessors, and was overthrown at the battle of Rivoli. Mantua was soon after forced to surrender, and the French became virtually the masters of Italy. The pope was obliged to pay very severely for the demonstrations he had made in favour of Austria, but he was not dethroned, as some of the more ardent French Republicans desired.

The arch-duke Charles was sent with a sixth Austrian army to encounter Napoleon, and he would probably have rendered the issue of the war doubtful, had he not been absurdly fettered by orders from the court of Vienna. In obedience to these commands, he divided his forces; he was soon attacked at Tagliamento by the whole army of the French, and defeated with immense loss. The arch-duke did not despair; he disputed every inch of ground with the conquerors as they advanced, but the people of Vienna, dreading a siege of the capital, compelled the court to offer terms of peace, which were accepted. Scarcely had the preliminaries been signed when Napoleon returned to punish the Venetians for having given aid to Austria, and he soon annihilated that once formidable republic.

During Napoleon's absence from Paris, a conspiracy for the restoration of the Bourbons had been detected, at the head of which was his rival Pichegru; this led to a minor revolution, that gave the chief power of the state



to the Republican directors. By this time Napoleon and his superiors were become mutually jealous of each other; he ridiculed openly the audacious quackery of their pretended support of Liberty and Equality; they justly dreaded the ambition which he scarcely took pains to conceal. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the Directors appointed him to the command of the army professedly designed for the invasion of England, but which he eventually directed against Egypt.

Nelson with an English fleet watched the harbour of Toulon, but being driven off the coast by a heavy gale, Napoleon seized the opportunity of embarking. Malta was treacherously surrendered by some French knights, and the expedition had a prosperous voyage from thence to the coasts of Egypt. Alexandria was taken with little difficulty, and Napoleon advanced to search for the army of the Mamelukes. It was within sight of the Pyramids that the French were attacked by this brilliant but undisciplined body of oriental cavaliers. The French infantry, formed in hollow squares, could not be broken by the desperate charges of their antagonists, while the storm of musketry which they poured upon the splendid squadrons, swept them down by hundreds. At length the miserable remnant of the Mamelukes fled, Cairo surrendered, and Lower Egypt was completely subdued.

But these successes were counterbalanced by the losses on another element. Nelson attacked the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir, and gained one of the most brilliant victories recorded in the annals of naval history. Two shattered ships out of the magnificent fleet alone escaped, the blockade of Egypt was established, and the invaders cut off from all communication with France. The conduct of Napoleon in Egypt and Syria, which he soon invaded, would have merited high praise,

had he not for ever tarnished his character by the sanguinary massacre at Jaffa. Acre was the first place destined to check the conqueror's career; Sir Sydney Smith, who was cruising in the Levant with two British ships of the line, hastened to assist the pacha in the defence of this important city, and the French were forced to retreat. After his return to Egypt, Napoleon gained a splendid victory over the Turkish army that had landed at Aboukir; but he soon after received intelligence which induced him to quit Egypt, and return with all speed to France. The Directory had engaged in a new war not very fortunately conducted, and already the results of the glorious Italian campaigns were lost.

After narrowly escaping the English cruisers, Buonaparte reached France, and notwithstanding the manner in which he had deserted his followers, was received with great enthusiasm. He soon engaged in a new revolution, which terminated in his election to supreme power with the title of First Consul, after he had, like Cromwell, turned out the members of the Council of Five Hundred at the point of the bayonet. France, which had refused to bear a constitutional monarch of unquestioned moderation, having had a brief experience of revolutionary horrors, was glad to exchange its unlicensed liberty for the rule of a military despot, whose iron sway was more tolerable than the follies and atrocities perpetrated under the abused name of liberty. One of the greatest proofs of the confidence which the name of the new ruler inspired, was the submission of the insurgent Chouans, who had hitherto resisted all the orders of the Republic.

One of the first steps taken by the First Consul was an attempt to commence negotiations with England; it

is not probable that he was very sincere in his offers, but the answer to his overtures showed that the British ministry reposed more confidence in their allies than they deserved. The rejection of his offers was a source of unmixed pleasure to Napoleon, for he had already formed the plan of a campaign more truly brilliant than any that can be found in the annals of war. An army was prepared and organized which marched on Switzerland by different routes, while the First Consul affected to devote his whole attention to the formation of an army of reserve at Dijon. The Austrian spies described with truth the army of reserve as perfectly contemptible, and the Austrian commanders in Italy, believing that they would have to contend against no other, pursued their advantages over the French generals with idle exultation: Napoleon in the mean time led his army over the Alps, under circumstances of difficulty that almost surpass credibility, and appeared in northern Italy as if he had dropped from the clouds. The perplexed Austrians did not know how to act; Genoa, which Napoleon was anxious to relieve, indeed surrendered to them, but the time wasted in the siege was not compensated by the possession of the town. After a variety of movements, the two armies met in their full pride of strength on the memorable plains of Marengo; the fortune of the day was at first in favour of the Austrians, but a series of errors on their part, and some lucky chances that favoured their opponents, gave the French a complete victory. So complete was the triumph of Napoleon, that the Austrian general was only able to save the shattered relics of his army by entering into a negotiation which virtually placed the whole of northern Italy at the disposal of the conqueror.

On the return of Napoleon to Paris he was received

with the utmost enthusiasm by the great bulk of the citizens ; but, like Cromwell, he had to experience the fierce hostility of the Royalists on the one hand, and the Republicans on the other. Several plots were laid for his destruction ; amongst others was an attempt to destroy him in the streets by exploding what has been deservedly called " the Infernal Machine," and from the danger of which he narrowly escaped. Perhaps it was the knowledge of these plots which prevented the court of Austria from changing the armistice that followed the battle of Marengo into a treaty of peace ; if so, the emperor was justly punished, for within the space of a few weeks after the renewal of hostilities, he was forced by the total overthrow of his armies to submit to more humiliating conditions than he might have obtained a few weeks previously. England alone maintained the contest against the colossal power which France had now acquired, and the exertions made by our country at this crisis deserve to be treasured among the proudest of our national recollections. The league which the Northern Powers had formed was overthrown by the great victory which Nelson obtained at Copenhagen. Malta was reduced, and the French army in Egypt forced to surrender to an English general. Buonaparte became anxious for peace, and the retirement of Mr. Pitt from office opened the means of negotiation ; after no very long delay, the treaty of Amiens was concluded—a treaty which was well described as one of which " every body was glad, and nobody could be proud."

It was soon found that the late pacification was little better than an armistice ; England violated the letter of the treaty by retaining possession of Malta, while France acted contrary to its spirit by interfering in the affairs of Switzerland. The war was recommenced with great

vigour on both sides, the British seized several colonies which had been restored by the treaty, and Napoleon occupied Hanover. Threats of invading England were renewed, and a vast army assembled on the opposite coast of France, but it was soon discovered that this would be a hopeless enterprise, and the design was laid aside. About the same time great alarm was excited at Paris by the intelligence that a plot had been discovered for murdering the First Consul, and it was said that all the Bourbon princes had joined in approving the meditated assassination. This absurd falsehood was made the pretext of a horrid crime. The duke d'Enghien was seized in the neutral territory of Baden, hurried to Paris, dragged at midnight before a military tribunal, subjected to a mock trial, and murdered by an illegal sentence before sunrise in the morning. Attempts have been made to palliate this monstrous atrocity, but Napoleon himself felt that it was a useless and pernicious crime which branded his character with a stain that could never be effaced. The remark of the remorseless Fouché on the occasion has passed into a proverb: "It was worse than a crime—it was a blunder." A few days after this it was announced that Pichegru, and an English officer named Wright, had committed suicide, but the general belief was that they had been murdered in prison. Nineteen persons suffered on the scaffold for active participation in the plot, and several suspected of approving it were either banished or imprisoned.

The detection of this plot gave Napoleon so much additional influence, that he was enabled to execute his long projected scheme of procuring his election to the empire. His coronation was celebrated in the cathedral of Notre Dame, the pope himself attending in person to

assist at the ceremony. From Paris the new emperor proceeded to Milan, where he was crowned king of Italy with the ancient iron diadem said to have been worn by the Lombard kings. This latter proceeding, however, gave such deep offence to the Austrian government, that it involved the continent in a new war. Russia, Sweden, Austria, and England, formed a coalition to effect the liberation of Europe; Prussia hung back from interested motives: unworthy conduct, which was severely punished in the sequel.

The Austrians commenced the war with rashness and injustice; they invaded the territories of Bavaria, whose sovereign wished to preserve neutrality; and the wretched Mack, whom the favour of the court had placed at the head of the army, passed the river Inn, and took possession of Ulm. Napoleon hastened to take advantage of these errors with the army that had been destined for the invasion of England; he soon got into the rear of Mack, who, influenced either by cowardice or treachery, surrendered at Ulm with twenty thousand men. The French emperor advanced; he entered Vienna as a conqueror, and took up his residence in the Austrian palace. Here he received intelligence that clouded his triumph, the news of the battle of Trafalgar, by which the French and Spanish navies were virtually annihilated. England purchased the victory, however, by the loss of her favourite hero, Nelson, who fell in the engagement.

The emperor of Austria, being joined by the emperor of Russia, resolved to maintain the war; but the battle of Austerlitz proved fatal to the allies, and as Prussia showed no inclination to move, the German court was forced to beg a peace. Napoleon rewarded his marshals and statesmen with titles of nobility, thus effacing the

last traces of the Republic in France; he also raised his brother Louis to the throne of Holland, and made Murat a sovereign prince. For himself he took the new title of "Protector of the Confédération of the Rhine," by which he virtually proclaimed himself monarch of western Germany.

This last proceeding was very mortifying to the king of Prussia, who saw that he had sacrificed his character to support an ungrateful conqueror, and was rewarded with contemptuous neglect. Stung by repeated insults, he precipitately declared war, and was ruined in a single campaign. After the battle of Jena, he was forced to abandon his hereditary dominions, but being subsequently joined by the Russians, he continued the war, and with inferior forces fought a furious but indecisive battle at Eylau. But Alexander became alarmed by his defeat at Friedland, and a treaty was concluded between the two emperors at Tilsit. The dominions of the king of Prussia were spared to him merely out of compliment to the emperor Alexander.

Having thus subdued all his enemies on the continent, Napoleon resolved to injure England, the only rival that he had yet to dread; and issued decrees prohibiting the introduction of British manufactures and colonial produce into the European markets. He was now at the very summit of his power; the despotism he had established in France was the most perfect and complete that ever existed in a civilized country, his word was law to all the sovereigns of Europe, and if he could have placed bounds to his ambition, his rule might have been as permanent as it was extensive. But unfortunately for himself, he resolved to establish his iron sway over Spain and Portugal, and to spare neither force nor fraud in order to insure his success.

The degraded court of Spain sanctioned the invasion of Portugal, for the queen, who ruled the weak mind of her husband, hoped that the conquest of that country would enable her to procure a principality for her paramour Godoy. Junot, the French general, rapidly traversed Spain, and on his approaching Lisbon, the Portuguese royal family embarked on board an English squadron, and sought refuge beyond the ocean in Brazil. Napoleon, however, still continued to pour forces over the Pyrenees, and assumed the office of arbiter between the imbecile Charles and his unprincipled son Ferdinand prince of Asturias. By a series of dishonourable artifices, the French emperor contrived to inveigle both princes into his power, when he informed them that they had ceased to reign, and that he designed the crown of Spain for his brother Joseph. Centuries of misrule, and the bigotry of a ferocious superstition, had rendered the Spaniards the lowest among the nations of Europe, but pride still survived in the midst of their degradation, and in every part of the peninsula insurrections were excited against the unprincipled usurper. Joseph proceeded to take possession of his new kingdom, but found that his authority only extended over that part of the peninsula actually occupied by his brother's armies.

The history of the peninsular war would be too great an interruption to the general course of our narrative, and we must therefore pass it over briefly. Let it suffice to say that the French were expelled from Portugal after the battle of Vimiero; that the first great effort of the English in Spain, under Sir John Moore, was unsuccessful, but that the persevering exertions of the English army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was soon raised to the peerage by the title of



Wellington, finally effected the liberation of the peninsula.

Napoleon came personally to Spain when Sir John Moore invaded that country, but he did not wait to witness the expulsion of the English army, having been recalled to Paris by the more pressing danger of a new war with Austria. The fortunes of the new war did not differ from those of the many by which it was preceded: the rapid combinations of the French emperor disconcerted the tardy movements of his opponents; at Eckmühl the Austrians were defeated, and forced in consequence to abandon their capital; at Asperne they were a little more fortunate, but at Wagram they were decisively overthrown, and placed at the mercy of the conqueror. Some surprise was felt at the moderation of the terms of peace granted on this occasion to Austria, but ere many months elapsed, the cause of this apparent generosity was sufficiently manifest.

Josephine, the devoted wife of Napoleon, the sharer of his toils, the chief cause and the greatest ornament of his prosperity, was childless; in addition to the natural desire for an heir which the emperor felt, he was anxious to be connected by some ties of relationship with the legitimate sovereigns of Europe, and to be ranked in the family of princes. He had, therefore, resolved to divorce Josephine, and marry the princess Maria Louisa, the daughter of the Austrian emperor. The preliminaries were soon arranged, and the new nuptials celebrated with great splendour. The measure was considered by Buonaparte and others as an additional security to his empire, but it proved to be one of the chief causes of his downfall. The festivities of the marriage were scarcely concluded, when the emperor dethroned his brother Louis with very little ce-

remony, and annexed Holland to France. About the same time also Charles John Bernadotte, a distinguished French general, was elected Crown Prince of Sweden by the states of that kingdom; a choice which by no means pleased the emperor.

In the year 1811 the fondest hopes of Napoleon were gratified by the birth of a son, whom he styled king of Rome. It was hoped rather than expected by his friends that he would now have endeavoured to secure the continuance of his dynasty by giving peace to Europe on equitable conditions, and he certainly for some time meditated such a design, but he could not bring himself to resign his hopes of conquering Spain, and England would not hear of a treaty on any other condition. His relations with Russia gradually assumed a less pacific aspect after his marriage to the empress Maria Louisa, for Alexander naturally felt alarmed at what he and the rest of the world regarded as the complete union of Austria and France. Russia suffered very severely from the pressure of the continental system, which cut off its profitable commerce with England, and Alexander was less honourably indignant at the project which Napoleon was suspected of having formed, to do a great act of justice, and restore the independence of Poland. From these and some other causes angry discussions took place between the courts of Paris and Petersburg, which soon threatened to explode in open war. The violent temper of the French emperor led him also to insult Bernadotte, and thus to add Sweden to the number of his enemies.

In the beginning of the year 1812, the gigantic preparations which Buonaparte was making for the Russian war occupied the attention of western Europe. The forces of France, Germany, and Italy, were marching

towards the frontiers of Poland, while the French emperor held his court at Dresden, and saw his favours courted by a host of sovereigns who hastened to pay him their respects. On the 24th of June the invading army crossed the Niemen, and found the Russians retiring before them, through a country deliberately wasted. Buonaparte continued to advance, but not with his characteristic rapidity, for the Russian plan of defence rendered it a work of enormous difficulty to procure food and forage. At length it became almost impossible to prevail upon the Russians to continue their retreat any farther, and Kutusoff, their brave old leader, resolved to wait for the invaders in a strong position between Borodino and Moskwa. On the 7th of September the bloody but indecisive battle of Borodino was fought; the Russians, however, suffered so severely, that their leader resolved to continue his retreat, and the French obtained possession of Moscow. With a devotion of patriotism unparalleled in history, the Russians burned their beloved capital to the ground, and thus destroyed all the hopes the invaders had formed of securing winter-quarters. A retreat was now necessary, but Napoleon still hoped that some favourable chance would either give him fresh superiority, or frighten Alexander into concluding a peace: he lingered on until the middle of October, and then at length gave reluctant orders for a retrograde movement. The sufferings of the French in this celebrated retreat exceeded all that imagination had hitherto been able to conceive. They perished by thousands from famine, cold, and fatigue, while the Cossacks, and the other Russian troops, beat up their quarters, cut off stragglers, and momentarily threatened to complete the annihilation of this once mighty host. Buonaparte fled from the frightful scenes at the first

opportunity, and hasted to raise in France an army almost as numerous as that which had been destroyed.

The following campaign insured the liberation of Europe; Prussia first set the example of throwing off the yoke of France; the Austrian emperor, having in vain endeavoured to moderate the ambition of his son-in-law, joined the allies; and in the decisive battle of Leipsic, the colossal power of Napoleon was overthrown. His armies were driven beyond the Rhine; Germany remained free, and the Dutch took up arms, and recalled their ancient sovereigns. On the other side of France, Wellington having driven the invaders of Spain beyond the Pyrenees, threatened to invade France in its turn.

On the 1st of January 1814, the allies crossed the Rhine, and the tide of war began to roll back rapidly to its source. Never, even at the height of his fortune, did Napoleon display more energy and ability than at this, the period of his calamity; but he laboured in vain, for he had beaten his enemies into the art of conquering. Unfortunately, elevated by some successful battles, he sternly rejected every opportunity of concluding an honourable peace; and the rapidity with which the allies retrieved their losses afforded no time for renewing the negotiation. His forces were defeated at Laon, his efforts to check the progress of the Austrians and Prussians failed, and to add to his perplexities he learned that Wellington had invaded the south of France, and gained a decisive victory over Soult at Orthes. Under these circumstances, the French emperor resolved to throw himself into the rear of the allied armies, but instead of being disconcerted by this movement, they took advantage of his absence, and made a rapid rush on Paris. On the 30th of March the allies fought and won the decisive battle which gave them possession of

the French capital, and on the following day their troops entered the city in triumphal procession. The war was now at an end, the marshals of France refused any longer to support the cause of Napoleon; the senate voted his deposition, and Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of his ancestors.

Pursuant to the arrangements of the allies, Napoleon was permitted to retain the title of emperor, and the little island of Elba was assigned him as a residence. But there were many in France who bitterly lamented his fall; none however more sincerely than Josephine, the wife of his first affections, who died of a broken heart soon after his departure. The restored race of princes failed to conciliate a nation to which they were now in some measure strangers, and ere this eventful year closed, machinations were in progress for the restoration of the emperor. Most of his partisans, however, were military men; the great body of the French people, wearied by long wars, desired nothing more than the continuance of tranquillity.

Europe was enjoying profound repose; a congress at Vienna was employed in arranging a number of questions to which the termination of the war had given rise, when the world was suddenly astounded with the intelligence that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and landed in France. The rapidity of his progress was still more astonishing: he was everywhere welcomed with the utmost enthusiasm; Louis once more became an exile, and on the 20th of March 1815, Napoleon again occupied the imperial palace in Paris. The allies lost no time in protesting against this usurpation, and a proclamation was issued by the Congress, declaring that Napoleon was no longer to be regarded as within the pale of the law of nations.

The Prussians and the English were the first to commence concentrating their forces in Belgium; Buonaparte resolved not to wait for an attack, but by a rapid advance to overwhelm both before they could be joined by the other allies. He defeated the Prussians at Ligny, and compelled the English to forego the advantages they had obtained at Quatre-bras; but Wellington retired to the memorable field of Waterloo, and determined there to receive the attack of the French army. On the 18th of June was fought the great battle which decided the fate of Europe: the object of Napoleon was to drive the English from their position; that of his opponents to maintain their ground until they were joined by the Prussians. About noon the battle commenced by a furious charge on the British right, in which the assailants displayed the most daring impetuosity; but the English troops, forming into squares, were immovable, and the French were driven back by their heavy fire. The second attempt was made on the centre by a great force of cuirassiers, supported by columns of infantry. The French cavalry gave way before the fierce charge of the English heavy horse, but the latter following their advantage too far, were charged in their turn, and driven back with loss. The French infantry had in the mean time seized the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, but were soon forced to relinquish their prize. The third and most furious assault was made again on the British right; the cuirassiers drove the artillerymen from their guns, and then rode against the squares behind. They were received with a close and deadly fire of musketry, gave way, rallied, renewed the charge, and were again driven back by the rolling volleys. These efforts were renewed until the entire of this brilliant body of troops was all but annihilated.

Evening was now fast approaching, the heads of the Prussian columns were seen advancing to the scene of action, and Napoleon mustered his guards for his last great effort. They were entrusted to the guidance of Ney, but their advancing columns were exposed to an incessant fire of musketry from the English line, which by the gradual advance of the wings had now assumed a concave form. Under this dreadful storm they attempted to deploy into line, and fell into confusion; Wellington seized the decisive moment to charge, and the battle was instantly changed into a rout. The Prussians undertook to continue the pursuit of the defeated army, and completed its ruin. Out of 75,000 men whom Napoleon led into battle, the half never again assembled in arms.

When the emperor returned to Paris, he found that the loss of his army must be followed by the loss of his throne. After a severe struggle, he consented to abdicate, determined to seek a refuge in America. Hoping, however, that some favourable change would present itself, he lingered at Paris until the coast of France was so closely blockaded by English cruisers, that escape was impossible. On reaching Rochefort, finding every chance destroyed, he surrendered himself a prisoner to Captain Maitland of his Majesty's ship *Bellerophon*, and bade adieu to the coast of France for ever.

The British ministers and the allied sovereigns resolved that the great disturber of the tranquillity of Europe should be kept a prisoner during the rest of life, but at the same time that he should be allowed all the personal comforts and enjoyments consistent with his safe custody. The place chosen for his imprisonment was the isle of Saint Helena, where the rest of his

life was spent in conversations on the circumstances of his eventful career, and in idle squabbles with those to whose charge he was entrusted. He died of cancer in the stomach on the 5th of May 1821. His body was borne to the grave by British grenadiers, and his funeral was celebrated with the military honours usually conceded to an English officer of rank. A huge stone marks the cemetery of him who requires no epitaph.



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